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9 December 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1483

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DEVELOPMENT IN CSSR-HUNGARY RELATIONS EVALUATED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 21, Oct 77 pp 50-52

[Article by Milan Sperling: "On Visit of Czechoslovak Party and State Delegation to Hungarian People's Republic"]

[Text] At the invitation of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee and of the MNK [Hungarian People's Republic], an official friendly visit of the CSSR party and state delegation headed by the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president Gustav Husak took place in Hungary on 14-16 September 1977. It was unquestionably a great event in the mutual Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations which became yet another opportunity for a big demonstration of traditional friendship, brotherly cooperation and firm alliance between our parties, states and nations, an important milestone in further development of their overall cooperation.

The entire course of the visit of the Czechoslovak delegation was therefore characterized by the comradely atmosphere and effort on both sides to further strengthen the cooperation between the CPCZ and the MSZMP, between the CSSR and the MNK, and to demonstratively emphasize the importance of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian alliance and cooperation within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. Our leading representatives met with the manifestation of sincere friendship everywhere in Hungary. It was a demonstrative expression and a new confirmation of the resolute determination of the Hungarian people to expand, in the spirit of common progressive traditions and on the basis of socialist internationalism, brotherly cooperation and to strengthen the indestructible ties with the nations of Czechoslovakia. The program of the visit of the Czechoslovak delegation culminated in the big meeting of Budapest workers which was fully in the sign of the demonstration of friendship between the nations of Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Janos Kadar used appropriate words when he described the visit and joint discussions in the following words: "This visit represents a major milestone in the development of our relations, it is part of the everyday effort of our parties and governments aimed at the strengthening of good neighborly cooperation between the two countries. We are convinced that this visit has further strengthened the indestructible Czechoslovak-Hungarian friendship and that our discussions again contributed to our common cause."

During this visit, the two party and government delegations held discussions on a wide range of issues. The leading Czechoslovak and Hungarian representatives mutually informed themselves on the internal situation in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, evaluated the past development of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian cooperation, discussed specific problems of its further intensification, and exchanged views on the urgent problems of the contemporary international situation as well as of the international communist and workers movement.

The Hungarian comrades supplied information on how the party was mobilizing the workers for the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th MSDS Congress which focused on the building of the developed socialist society. In its overwhelming majority the Hungarian people is solidly rallied around its party and is actively committed to the implementation of the congress program in all areas.

In their discussions both delegations paid great attention to the problems of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian cooperation, its past development and its future prospects.

The development of Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations was very positively viewed by both sides. It was emphasized that they developed on a solid basis--close cooperation between the CPCZ and MSZMP based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The discussions of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian party and government delegations in Prague in 1974 represented an important milestone in this respect. On their basis the cooperation significantly intensified in all areas. There exist, however, a number of additional by no means insignificant possibilities and generally favorable conditions for the further intensification of Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations.

It was concurrently stated that political relations were of a high standard. They are noted particularly for the regular contacts between the leaderships of parties and states which are characterized by full agreement on all problems related to building socialism, expansion of mutual relations, foreign policy and international communist and workers movement. Likewise, fruitful contacts are maintained on all other levels of party and state organs and organizations. Cooperation between the mass and social organizations successfully continues. Friendly contacts between krajs, cities and plants develop favorably.

Both parties expressed pleasure over the development of Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations in the area of culture, education and science which have dynamically expanded in recent years. In the area of culture, there has been an extensive exchange of artists, performing ensembles and other important cultural values. The plans for cooperation between the unions of creative artists are focused on the mutual cooperation in the promotion of socialist art production, on the education of young authors and artists. The "Days of Czechoslovak and Hungarian Culture" play an important role in this respect. Good progress has been made also in the cooperation among universities and in the exchange of students between both countries.

On the basis of the plan of scientific cooperation for the 1976-1980 period, contacts between the academies of sciences have intensified. Both delegations stated that, despite the positive trend in the development in this area, there existed additional possibilities for further expansion, intensification and improvement of cooperation.

Tourist travel between our two countries which effectively contributes to the mutual knowledge of the life of the peoples of both countries and to the strengthening of their friendship has considerably expanded.

In the course of the negotiations, both the Czechoslovak and Hungarian leading representatives described the development of economic relations between the CSSR and Hungary as successful, balanced and dynamic. The mutual commodity exchange has shown a constantly rising trend. This is evident from the fact that the long-term trade agreement for the 1976-1980 period sets a significant 50 percent increase in the turnover in comparison with the actual performance during the preceding five year period. The most rapid increase is to be registered in the shipments of processing industries, and among them particularly in the shipments of the engineering industry which account for more than half of the volume of the long-term agreement.

As a positive feature was regarded especially the fact that, in addition to the traditional forms in economic relations, there has been a constantly increasing proportion of new, progressive elements of international cooperation based on the bilateral and multilateral production specialization and cooperation. This is borne out by the fact that approximately 25 percent of mutual shipments of products of engineering and chemical industries are based on the appropriate specialization and cooperation contracts. The most important agreement in this respect is the cooperation in the automobile industry which was signed in 1976 for the period up to 1985 and further extended this year.

It was also stated that extensive cooperation between our countries favorably developed also in other important areas of economic relations. The joint construction and utilization of water works on the Danube in the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros section was described as an extraordinarily important project. This great Czechoslovak-Hungarian undertaking will be gradually integrated into the power systems of both countries starting in 1986, will considerably improve the flood control and will facilitate the navigation on the Danube. The construction of the Hungarian section of Adriatic crude oil pipeline and putting into operation the long-distance power lines connecting the electric energy systems of both countries will play an important role already during the current Five-Year Plan.

Both delegations highly praised the activity of the Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation as well as the cooperation of the central planning organs of Czechoslovakia and Hungary. It was emphasized at the same time, however, that these organs in the first place must jointly estimate the still existing considerable reserves in economic cooperation and explore additional ways for its intensification

especially on the basis of further expansion of cooperation and specialization in the engineering industry and other sectors of the national economy. In accordance with these criteria, the planning organs of our countries have already started to work on the coordination of plans for the 1981-1985 period. The appropriate agreements were jointly approved already during the preparation of the visit of the Czechoslovak delegation.

Both delegations strongly emphasized the vital interest of the CSSR and of Hungary in the development of the process of socialist economic integration within CEMA, particularly however in drafting the target programs of long-term cooperation which will facilitate the solution of fundamental problems of economic development of both countries and strengthen the potential of the entire socialist community at the same time.

In the exchange of views on international issues it was unequivocally emphasized that the permanent basis of foreign policy of both countries was the firm alliance with the Soviet Union as well as the constant effort aimed at the strengthening of the unity of the socialist community. Renewed emphasis was laid upon the necessity of constant intensification of the coordinated policy of socialist countries, and in this context firm resolution again was expressed to further expand and improve cooperation within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. Concurrent views were expressed on the merits of peace policy of the USSR and of other socialist countries, and its contribution to the process of relaxation of tension in the world. Both delegations categorically condemned the actions of reactionary forces against the relaxation [of tension], and also those tendencies which under the pretext of the so-called protection of human rights attacked the socialist countries. They again expressed their firm resolution to strive that a constructive exchange of views take place at this year's Belgrade meeting of representatives of states which had participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They emphasized also that the vital interest of all nations is putting a stop to the feverish arms race, an absolute ban on testing nuclear weapons, and prevention of the manufacture of new types and systems of mass destruction.

Both delegations likewise informed each other about some questions of the contemporary development of the international communist and workers movement and concurrently stated that their views were identical. They emphasized the necessity to further contribute to the consolidation of its coherence in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They mutually informed themselves on the workers' initiative in their countries in honor of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. They emphasized that this anniversary would be yet another opportunity for the manifestation of solidarity with the USSR, for underlining the fundamental importance of the Marxist-Leninist policy and of the superiority of the socialist system.

These results and conclusions of the discussions are embodied in the Joint Communiqué on Visit of CSSR Party and Government Delegation to the MNK which was signed by the heads of both delegations. Several important

agreements were signed during the visit. The most important of them--the interstate Agreement on Construction and Operation of the System of Water Works in Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Section of the Danube--was signed by the heads of both governments.

To sum up, we can state with satisfaction and sincere pleasure that the results of this important visit to brotherly Hungary are successful. It was confirmed again that the relations between both parties and countries develop favorably. The preparation and the course of the visit advanced the settlement of a number of important problems of mutual cooperation and, at the same time, provided a stimulus for their more detailed examination. The overall outcome of this visit thus further contributes not only to the intensification of Czechoslovak-Hungarian cooperation, but also to the strengthening of the unity of the socialist community, of the international communist and workers movement and to the consolidation of peace and progress in the world.

10501

CSO: 2400

OLD HUNGARIAN BOOK ON TRANSYLVANIA HAILED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Sep 77 p 4

/Article by Gyorgy Fulposi/

/Text/ At the middle of the 18th century, Transylvanian scholar Peter Bod (1712-1769), a person representative of Hungarian culture and literature in the 18th century, had worked out a vast program to draw up a broad description of Transylvania, having in mind the centuries of Romanians, Hungarians, Saxons and other nationalities living together. He began with the native places, writing the work entitled "Siculia," in Latin according to the custom of the time, in which he offered a picturesque and multi-lateral image of the history and customs of the Szekler population. Parallel with his book on the Szeklers, Peter Bod was gathering the material needed for a work referring to the Transylvanian Romanians. In this way, 225 years ago, the base was laid for that broad work of more than 550 pages entitled "Brevis Valachorum Transylvaniam Incolentium Historia" and achieved after better than a decade.

The manuscript, written in Latin, contains a broad presentation of the history, customs and traditions of the Transylvanian Romanians. Peter Bod begins his work with the problem of the formation of the Romanian people and language, proceeding from Dacia, especially from the Roman era. Giving a broad analysis of the sources and opinions formulated by the scholars, in closing he stresses the Latin origin of the Romanian language and the decisive role of Romanization in the formation of the Romanian people.

The Hungarian scholar then shows that the Romanians are the majority population of Transylvania, with even the title of the first chapter being significant in this context: "Valachi Gens Numerosissima" (The Romanians, the Most Numerous Nationality). Basing himself on the sources then at his disposal and on the writings of the humanists in the 16th century and especially on the work of the Romanian humanist Nicolaus Olahus, just as the Muntenian and Moldavian chroniclers of the 17th century, Peter Bod stresses

the unity of language and origin of Romanians from all the provinces inhabited by them.

Of course, Peter Bod's manuscript does not lack naive and insufficiently thorough statements and arguments belonging to the limits of the age. But, through the wealth of data and presentation of numerous facts he saw himself, Peter Bod's book even today is an impressive source of information. In this regard there is special interest in the part which describes the customs and traditions accompanying the life of the Romanian peasant. In Latin text he points out the names of the customs described in the Romanian language and mentions a number of popular Romanian expressions. The very description and evaluations in the work transmit Peter Bod's respect for the spiritual life of the Romanian people.

In the second part of the work, accompanied by the reproduction of the most important documents of the time, from positions full of understanding Peter Bod presents the struggle conducted by the Transylvanian Romanians against the unity with the Catholic church, a struggle which reached its height in the popular movement of 1760-1761.

Peter Bod's manuscript has attracted the attention of Romanian scholars even from the last century. Timotei Cipariu and Vincențiu Babes researched, recopied and lithographed the manuscript, stressing its special value and why it was written by "one of the most learned men of his time."

Born in Cernatu de Sus (Covasna County), Peter Bod studied at the college in Aiud, a school with rich progressive traditions, which long had represented the highest institution of learning in Transylvania. From here he reached the Academy of Leida, famed in Europe. With a rich arsenal of knowledge gained "with 7 tons of books," Peter Bod, as a true scholar, returned to Transylvania to put his talent and power to work in the service of the people.

He wrote and published a large number of works of history and literature. What made him recognized in Transylvanian Hungarian literature of his time was the book "Magyar Athenas" (Hungarian Atheneum) printed in Sibiu in 1766--a true literary encyclopedia comprising the biography and literary activity of more than 500 Hungarian scholars who had lived up until his time. It remains a work which affirms that the mother tongue is the main means of raising the masses' culture. Peter Bod drew up a detailed plan to establish an academic society to cultivate the mother tongue and for the flourishing of science. He ardently loved the name from which he had risen and was an eminent representative of progressive Transylvanian Hungarian culture; it was precisely these qualities which led him to the idea of knowing and respecting the historical traditions and culture of the working people

of other nationalities in Transylvania and respect for the history, struggle and customs of the Romanian people. As a true man of culture, he well realized that affirmation of the culture of one's own nationality and mother tongue is not possible and lasting without respect and knowledge for the culture and tradition of other nationalities. In the conditions of Transylvania, this means above all the knowledge, valuing and cultivation of Romanian historical and cultural traditions. Thus the noble conviction from which rose that valuable work entitled "A Short History of the Romanians in Transylvania," and thus also the message which has come more than two centuries from the pen of Peter Bod: the message which the years which have passed since then--living together jointly, brotherly work and struggle for the defense of the forefather's land and for social and national liberation--have continually enriched with new meaning and significance, with all working people today--Romanians, Hungarians and Germans--acting in close unity under the party's leadership to raise the common socialist country to new heights of progress and civilization.

8071

CSO: 2700

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ANNOUNCEMENT ON RATIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION AGREEMENTS

[Editorial Report] East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part II No 16, 2 November 1977, pages 350-353, contains the announcement, dated 25 August 1977, on the ratification by the GDR State Council of two agreements of the International Labor Organization. Also provided are the German-language translations of the texts of Agreement 47, dealing with the reduction of the work-week to 40 hours, and Agreement 140, dealing with paid leave for educational purposes. The last article of each of the two agreements states that the French and English texts are equally authoritative.

CSO: 2300

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

CPCZ DELEGATION TO GDR--Berlin (ADN)--On Wednesday Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a CPCZ study delegation headed by Miroslav Muller, member of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission and head of the Central Committee Department of Culture, for a talk, which took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere. Kurt Hager informed the Czechoslovak guests about the implementation of the Ninth SED Congress decisions, especially about question of the party's cultural policy. The talk was attended by Frantisek Hamouz, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the CSSR in the GDR. During its stay in the GDR the delegation visited cultural institutions in the capital of Berlin and the Eighth Arts Exhibit in Dresden. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Nov 77 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

## BULGARIA

### NEW SYSTEM OF CIVIL REGISTRATION IN PROGRESS

Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 27 Oct 77 pp 1, 2

[Article by A. Atanasov: "Introduction of a New System for Civil Registration"]

[Text] The introduction of the new Uniform System for Civil Registration and Administrative Services to the Population will begin on 1 November. A survey will be conducted to collect primary data from the population. It will be completed on 30 November.

ESGRAON [the Uniform System for Civil Registration and Administrative Services to the Population] will replace the system for civil registration now in effect, which was introduced over 80 years ago and is no longer capable of responding to modern needs for speedy, accurate and abundant information and quality administrative services. The new system will ensure generalized personal information about the population to meet the needs of local administrative organs and to improve administrative services to the citizens. It will simplify procedures for providing administrative services by using modern means and methods of registration.

The informational basis of the system includes 15 indicators which characterize a given person from the beginning to the end of his [or her] life. These indicators are: uniform civil code [number], name, birthplace, citizenship, residence, personal passport, characteristic marks, place of current residence, education, legal restrictions, military service, employment data, social group, family situation, and cause and date of death.

The uniform civil code is a very significant indicator. It is a basic identifying sign of a given person. It represents a 10-digit number containing information about the year, month, and day of birth and the numerical order of the birth for that day on the territory of the respective region.

The data collected from the population will be entered on survey cards. Subsequently the data will be transferred to personal cards which will be used to create data banks through techniques of computer processing. Consequently, only on the basis of the uniform civil code, through the computer

technique and other modern means, it will be possible to issue the requested certificates to the citizens. From the data contained in the information data banks the administrative organs, on the other hand, will be able, in a most accurate and complex fashion, to satisfy the needs of the citizens. Therefore, the ensuing survey for collecting data from the population is an exceptionally significant, decisive stage in the introduction of the new system.

In the course of November the citizens in the capital will be visited by official persons, called interviewers, who on the basis of the collected data will fill out the survey questionnaires. About 4,500 interviewers have been prepared in Sofia. All permanent and temporary residents of Sofia will be interviewed.

#### What the Citizens Should Know

The citizens should present several basic documents to the visiting interviewer: birth certificate (baptismal transcripts for older citizens, which have authenticating value, if issued prior to 27 March 1946); civil marriage license (marriage transcripts for older citizens, which have authenticating value, if issued prior to 29 May 1945); personal passport, a diploma for completed education.

After examining the documents, the interviewer will enter the 10-digit number in the personal passport of the respective citizen (in the birth certificate of children under 16 years of age). Subsequently, on the basis of the documents and the verbal data given by the citizens, the interviewer will fill out a questionnaire for each person according to the mentioned indicators. All individuals are subject to interviewing with the exception of those born after 1 November of this year.

In cases of temporary absence of some citizens because of business trips, hospitalization etc., data concerning these individuals will be provided by close relatives.

All questions related to the survey should be directed to the specially constituted information points at the District People's Councils and the SGNS [Union of City People's Councils] which during November will be open all day--from 0800 to 2000 hours. An order has been issued to the president of the IK [Executive Committee] of the Union of City People's Councils [UCPC], the executive committees of the district councils, the GNS [City People's Council], and the SONS [Union of Regional People's Councils] within the system of the UCPC, to issue to citizens the documents necessary for the survey, in due time and in conformity with the legal requirements.

The enterprises, institutions, social organizations, people's councils, educational establishments and others in the capital during the time of the survey should expeditiously send announcements of updated changes in employment data, citizen status, address, residence, education, etc., of citizens.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### GERMAN NEWSPAPER COMMENTS ON PRAGUE DISSIDENTS' TRIAL

#### The Charges and the Motives

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 17 Oct 77 p 21

[Article by Hans-Peter Riese: "Without Regard for Belgrade--Trial Against Havel and Charter 77 Begins in Prague Today"]

[Text] On the premises of the Prague City Court at 2 Spalena Ulice, standards are different from those being observed in Belgrade, where, at the "Sava Centar," the representatives of 35 countries are reviewing the results of the Final Act of Helsinki. Whereas in Belgrade the representative of the CSSR, like all his East European counterparts, gives assurances that human rights are respected in his country, at the Prague City Court the trial is beginning today against the playwright Vaclav Havel, the journalist Jiri Lederer and theater directors Ota Ornest and Frantisek Pavlicek. Except for Ornest, the defendants are all signatories of Charter 77. Pavel was one of the three most prominent spokesmen of the charter.

The indictment has been patterned after a model which is extremely well known from earlier trials--most of which were held in the same court. The biggest judicial guns have been moved up by the prosecutor general against Ota Ornest and Jiri Lederer: "Out of enmity against the social and state order of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic," the indictment states, Ota Ornest and Jiri Lederer engaged in rebellious activities against the social and state order of the republic, against its international interests, conducting this activity in connection with individuals abroad." According to the Czechoslovak Penal Code, this is a crime punishable under Article 98, Paragraphs 1 and 2. The penalty for this "rebellious activity," according to Paragraph 2--in connection with individuals abroad--is imprisonment between 3 and 10 years.

A particularly aggravating factor, according to the indictment, is the fact that the two defendants allegedly maintained contact with Czechoslovak emigrants. "The (rebellious) activity was conducted in such a way as to maintain

conspiratorial contacts through middlemen, with Czechoslovak emigres Pavel Tigrit and Jiri Pelikan, transmitting to them abroad written contributions and reports for publication, i.a., in the journals SVEDECTVL and LISTY. With their help, various articles and pieces of information were given circulation abroad and on the territory of the republic which constituted direct and indirect attacks against leading representatives of the republic, the policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, its leading role in the state and the alliance between the republic and the USSR." This completely exhausts the infamous Article 98 and theoretically gives the court the opportunity to sentence Ornest and Lederer to the maximum penalty of 10 years' imprisonment.

In the case of theater director Frantisek Pavlicek, the indictment is softened a little, with him being charged only with "preparing a crime of revolt against the republic," without the aid of individuals abroad (in the meaning of Article 7, Paragraph 1, and Article 98, Paragraph 1). Pavlicek is threatened with imprisonment of up to 5 years. A little weaker still is the charge against the playwright Vaclav Havel, who is accused of "attempting the crime of damaging the interests of the republic abroad." In his case Article 8, Paragraph 1, of the Penal Code applies, as well as Article 112, Paragraph 1--no attempt being made at all to charge him with having violated Paragraph 98. Havel and Pavlicek both were under detention pending trial for 4 months and were then conditionally released until the beginning of the trial. Ornest and Lederer have been under arrest since mid-January.

Actually, this trial is of course directed against Charter 77 and its publication abroad. There is a legal reason why this human rights document is not mentioned in the indictment: the prosecution and the court must under all circumstances try to prevent this document from becoming the subject of the trial, as has been demanded by the defense of all the defendants, because in that case one would have to examine the question as to whether Charter 77 itself has any criminally relevant content. This strategy of the defense is to be undermined because such content is hardly likely to be proved in light of the express reference by the charter to valid Czechoslovak law, to the ratification of the UN Human Rights Convention by the CSSR as well as to the Final Act of Helsinki.

This, however, poses of course the crucial question of such proceedings, namely: Why are citizens of the CSSR obliged to publish documents like the Charter 77 abroad if they point out violations of rights in their own country and intended to force the authorities to observe their own laws? Once before, Lederer, one of the best known journalists from the time of the "Prague Spring," had to undergo a similarly grotesque trial. Someone had stolen a manuscript of his in which he had analyzed the events in Poland which led to party head Gomulka's resignation. At that time already, the charge was "disparagement of a state representative," despite the fact that at the time of the trial Gomulka had ceased to be one and the fact that the manuscript had not been published.

Lederer has spent virtually the entire time since 1970 in prison, although he had never been shown to be guilty of a violation of the law. Vaclav Havel was arrested immediately after publication of the charter in January of this year and was released only after 4 months of detention pending trial. The comparatively mild charge against him permits the conclusion that it is not planned to sentence him to long imprisonment but to give him a suspended short sentence in which his detention can be taken into account. All the more grotesque is the length of the detention in this case.

Particularly as far as Havel is concerned, Prague evidently is afraid of reaction abroad. As long as 2 months ago, leading German and Swiss authors, including Heinrich Boell, Guenter Grass and Max Frisch, pleaded for the four defendants in an open letter to the prosecutor general of the CSSR. This letter was even answered, with indications of the main features of the indictment which has now been issued.

It is interesting in this connection that in the case of Ota Ornest the heaviest charges apparently have been dropped and that the proceedings were not separated from the rest. For months, the Czechoslovak press has been describing him as an agent of British and Canadian intelligence. There have also been rumors emanating from Prague to the effect that, in exchange for certain concessions by the prosecution, Ornest displayed an attitude of confession and collaborated in a television film in which he supposedly made statements about his contacts with Czechoslovak emigres. Evidently Ornest has meanwhile withdrawn his statements, because otherwise the prosecutor would hardly have forgone a charge against him for having committed espionage.

Charter 77, which alone is at stake in these proceedings, in any case, however cleverly one may interpret the Czechoslovak code, contains no criminal statements. If it were so, the courts would have to proceed against the 800 Czechoslovak citizens who signed this document. So the attempt is being made to sentence these four defendants vicariously and for deterrent effect. The way in which the charges have been toned down leads one to the conclusion that the people in Prague have taken the reaction abroad and of the Belgrade conference carefully into account.

Apparently the most prominent defendant, Havel, is supposed to get off with a comparatively light sentence, despite the fact that, as spokesman of the charter and from the point of view of the authorities and according to the logic of the indictment, he bears the greatest responsibility. While he dropped his spokesman's function after his conditional release from detention in order not to exacerbate the trial situation, he is standing by his signature. The trial and the long detention of the defendants bear all the signs of contrived political proceedings.

## The Verdict and What Is Behind It

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Oct 77 p 12

[Article by Angela Nacken: "Prague Judges Aim at Emigrees--Verdicts in Shadow of a Czechoslovak Trauma"]

[Text] The Prague trial of four Czechoslovak intellectuals remains a mystery as far as its motive and purpose are concerned even for those who are not unfamiliar with the accusers' interests and legal concepts. The party organ of the French communists described the verdict as a "caricature of justice distorting the essence of socialism." The British Labor Party condemned the sentences as a "flagrant violation of human rights." In the "biggest political show trial" since publication of Charter 77, it writes, the four courageous advocates of human rights have been found guilty of trumped-up charges.

The Labor Party is simplifying the situation of the Prague authorities a little: a show trial on the pattern of the fifties in 1977 is not even possible in Czechoslovakia. The organizers of the trial against the theater directors Ornest and Pavlicek, the former journalist Lederer and the playwright Vaclav Havel were aware of that. The proceedings on Spalena Ulice before the Prague City Court showed signs of a certain embarrassment or self-consciousness. The sentence was announced as early as on the second day of the trial, a day sooner than had been expected. It was a trial without witnesses, the court forgoing the examination of persons who may have witnessed with their own eyes or ears the fact that the defendants were guilty of "subversion." The public was virtually excluded from the proceedings. Neither signatories or supporters of Charter 77 nor representatives of the prisoners' aid organization Amnesty International nor Western correspondents accredited in Prague were admitted to the courtroom. Only 14 "selected" individuals were permitted to attend the proceedings, while the remainder stayed outside in the hall.

The author Pavel Kohout and other well-known signatories of the civil rights manifesto Charter 77, who tried to manifest their solidarity with the defendants, including three signatories of the charter, on the first day of the trial were placed under temporary arrest and were then released to go home with the proviso that they would stay away from the court building. Again, as already during the campaign against Charter 77 at the beginning of the year, it was not the civil rights advocates but their persecutors who saw to the ado and the noise.

After this overture, the comparative leniency exercised by the judges in their sentence was a surprise. Previously the prosecution had refrained from asking for the maximum penalties "for subversion against the republic" against the civil rights advocates. The main defendant, Ornest, who had pleaded guilty during the trial, was sentenced to 3 and 1/2 years'

imprisonment, while the journalist Lederer received a 3-year sentence. The sentences against Pavlicek and Havel were suspended sentences of 17 and 14 months' imprisonment, respectively. Even in circles of critics of the regime, surprise was expressed on Tuesday, "though there can be no question of leniency in a case where people are sentenced for something guaranteed by our constitution--spiritual and artistic freedom." It is assumed among the dissidents that the Prague authorities were emphatically advised to exercise moderation by the Soviets in light of the violent protests in the West, even by the Eurocommunist parties, and of the criticism voiced, in more or less concealed form, at the Belgrade review conference. Thus, it is worth noting, the prosecution refrained from following the tested example of bringing "Zionism" into play, despite the fact that Ornest and Lederer are of Jewish origin.

The time factor worked to the advantage of the defendants. The four intellectuals had been arrested at the beginning of the year, when the demand by the charter signatories for human rights to be observed in their country received worldwide attention. The security authorities, shaken after Helsinki, wanted to strike, deter, put out the flame, rather than pour fuel on the fire. They arrested four individuals of whom only three had signed the charter--in other words, individuals who right off did not have any common characteristics. It became so difficult to come up with a solid indictment that the trial was delayed until it finally coincided with the Belgrade conference and it became inadvisable anyway, from the point of view of domestic policy, to lend new impetus through fairly harsh sentences to a Charter movement which had quieted down of late. While it was possible to keep observers out of the courtroom, it was not possible to keep the "spirit of Helsinki" out.

What looks like an awkwardly flung boomerang, which in the end damages Czechoslovakia's foreign political interests, nevertheless has a certain aim, namely, at last to interrupt the connection between the emigres and the opposition at home. The defendants were found guilty because they had allegedly passed on to Western emigree publications stories and articles which are prohibited in Czechoslovakia, or other materials. In Czechoslovakia today it is called "subversion" to have printed abroad something no domestic state publishing house agrees to print. This hysteria is characteristic of a country whose history has twice been decided by emigres. Head of state Husak has often made it known in his speeches and decisions that this is a question of a personal trauma which is no longer accessible to the process of reason.

8790

CSO: 3103

## EAST GERMANY

### ADVANCED APC-DRIVER TRAINING OUTLINED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 11, Nov 77 signed to press 5 Sep 77 pp 510-511

[Article by Maj H. Schulz, engineer: "Advanced Training of SPW Drivers in a Motorized Rifle Company"]

[Text] SPW [armored personnel carrier -APC] drivers had to be trained in a motorized rifle company in our unit. Numerous organizational measures had to be accomplished in preparing for this.

The company in question was to consist of only servicemen from the first half-year of service. The APC drivers were to be transferred within a motorized rifle battalion. Those among the new inductees having classes 3, 4 and 5 driver's licenses were to be picked out. Here attention was paid to seeing that the state of health of the servicemen in question met the appropriate suitability and capability requirements.

In the motorized rifle company two platoons to train SPW 60PB drivers and one platoon to train drivers of other types were formed. This resulted in favorable training capabilities. After completion of training only the required retraining for the appropriate APC types had to be accomplished in order to acquire the specific type of armored vehicle driver's license.

#### 1. Military Training

Military training occupies a great deal of time within the established training program. It has been shown that extensive military training gives the future APC driver better understanding in tactical actions. The required subject in tactics, gunnery, protection and physical training is realistic and is not done at the expense of technical training.

Individual training is problematic because of the large number of single groups.

Personnel newly assigned as APC drivers are given advanced training in the company. Training of snipers, gun pointers and antitank weapon gunners is

given in a special training course in the unit at the beginning of each training half-year.

## 2. Planning and Organization of Training in the Motorized Rifle Company

A working group headed by the StKTA [deputy commander for technical equipment] plans and organizes the training of the motorized rifle company in the unit.

[The working group] includes officers of the unit headquarters and the motorized rifle battalion. The company commander and armor technician are temporarily added. The StKTA of the motorized rifle battalion, who works closely with the company commander and the armor technician, is briefed about the current state of training. He sends the data required for planning training to the unit headquarters.

Monthly planning for the company (planning the firing range, armor driving range, training combat equipment and the like) is done when the planning of the motorized rifle battalions and independent units is completed. Neither the motorized rifle company or the motorized rifle battalion is capable of accomplishing all technical training by itself. Technical trainers from the personnel of the unit are still required.

After monthly planning has been accomplished, changes are usually required since trainers are not available because of sickness or details. For this reason the StKA of the unit presents the tasks at the weekly briefing. At this time it is also established what equipment of the motorized rifle company is available for driver training.

## 3. Technical Training

### 3.1. Trainers

The motorized rifle company has its own trainers (squad and platoon leaders) available for combat training. The platoon leaders receive general technical topics and are in charge of driver training. They have good knowledge and are capable of accomplishing this training. In the company technical training is accomplished at the same time and by squads. The company has no trainers available for training on the [APC] types SPW 40P2 and 152W1. These trainers are made available by the unit.

It is necessary to make assistant platoon leaders more capable of conducting technical training topics with the trainers. Then the battalion armor technicians, who participate in the training, could give more attention to continuation training of their APC drivers.

### 3.2. Equipment for Driver Training

Armor technical training is accomplished using the vehicles of the combat group. The trainers are assistant driver instructors from the APC driver personnel of the company. As a rule 8 to 10 soldiers are trained on one APC. If the training is to be more effective, the groups must be smaller and the number of vehicles increased.

The organization of armored vehicle driving training is complicated. In planning we try to keep as many training combat vehicles as possible free for the company but a large share of the training combat vehicles are used for individual training sections in the unit. Moreover, planned technical maintenance is accomplished on training combat vehicles and vehicles also become unserviceable during training. Accomplishing the high training goals in driver training requires great efforts in regard to their support and is not always free of complications for the company.

### 3.3. Support of Training

#### Instructional Classes

Theoretical and practical training is accomplished in the instructional classes of the technical training center.

Available are:

One "SPW 60PB components" instructional class equipped with two SPW 60PB,  
One "operation of the SPW 60PB" instructional class equipped with two SPW 60PB,  
One "SPW 40P2 components" instructional class equipped with two SPW 40P2.

Also available for use in the company is an instructional class which is also equipped with instructional tables of the appropriate APC types. A drawback is the lack of an instructional class for tactics/armored vehicle radio equipment. It has not yet been established in our unit due to the lack of space.

#### Training Means

The soldiers acquire necessary skills in practical work on, for example, cleaning filters and disassembly and assembly and adjustment work on components. This work is largely done on the vehicles parked in the TAZ [technical training center]. In the interest of operational readiness it would be expedient to increase the numbers of such components as carburetors, oil centrifuges, fuel filters, clutches and axles in the form of cutaway or functional models for training.

The trainees can more thoroughly absorb the material offered through self study using regulations which are available in sufficient numbers. An APC

in the form of a cutaway model which shows the relationship of devices and components and explains and demonstrates working principles would be an effective training means.

### 3.4. Organization and Accomplishment of the 250-Km March

The next highpoint after the theoretical and practical test is the 250-km march. Here the young APC driver proves his knowledge and skills gained as well as his physical and mental performance. This march must be thoroughly prepared. This includes:

- planning the necessary training areas,
- reconnaissance of the march route,
- making required personnel (leaders such as commanders, traffic regulators and column commanders) available,
- making available the ammunition for the subsequent firing of the first school exercise and
- planning and preparing equipment for driver training and support.

This process is done by the already mentioned working group. The battalion commander prepares the data and supervises the march.

Stages of the 250-km march:

- the equipment for the march is collected, prepared and technically checked.
- a daylight march of about 120 km within a troop training area.
- rest of about 2 hours until dusk. During the rest a control inspection is accomplished and rations are issued.
- march of about 10 to 15 km within the troop training area. This is done with night vision devices.
- return march of about 120 km at night.
- firing the first school exercise and running the assault course upon reaching the area of the base.
- the daily technical maintenance and parking of equipment is done as the final element.

This 250-km march puts high demands on the young APC drivers. We have already accomplished these marches many times and are of the opinion that they are absolutely necessary for thorough training of the drivers.

### 4. Conclusions

On the basis of experience already gained during training APC drivers in a motorized rifle company, the assessment is that, despite many difficulties, the advantages of this training predominate. The state of training of APC drivers has substantially improved in comparison with earlier advanced training courses. As a result of the relatively high share of armor technical and driver training, future APC drivers gain better technical knowledge and skills. The trainers instruct in the same topics during the training half-year. Thus training data can be, if well and logically prepared,

assembled in a cardfile fashion. Accidents and damages to equipment were reduced by 50 to 60 percent. Another advantage is that the operational readiness of APC equipment is continually guaranteed by crewing with trained drivers.

8373

CSO: 2300

## BRIEFS

IMPROVEMENT IN MEDICAL RESEARCH--The GDR intends to exert greater efforts, as Health Minister Mecklinger recently announced in a speech before government officials, to improve medical research. This involves greater concentration on practical work as well as raising the scientific standard so as to acquire more fundamental findings on human life processes and the onset of illnesses as a foundation for scientifically-established prevention, diagnosis and therapy. From now on, according to Mecklinger, particular emphasis is to be given to experimental research, since qualitative new findings, which assure trend-setting scientific advance and have basic significance for the majority of medical fields of specialization, are to be expected especially in this field. In this connection, Mecklinger warned against neglect of the discipline of scientific development in comparison with the absolutely necessary consideration of interdisciplinary fields of study. The consequences of such one-sided scientific orientation currently appear as a scarcity of well educated new talent at not a few theoretical institutes and college clinics and the GDR Academy of Sciences. He stated that by 1980, around 1,400 medicine and dentistry graduates were to be channeled into the medical college sector--a considerably greater number than in past years. Of those, 54 percent are to be active in surgical-operative specialty fields, 16 percent in all other clinical specialty fields, and 30 percent in theoretical fields of medical specialization. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 218, 14 Nov 77 p 2]

CSO: 2300

CENTRAL COMMITTEE DEPARTMENT RECOMMENDS CHANGE IN TRAINING OF SOCIOLOGISTS

Budapest SZOCIOLOGIA in Hungarian No 2, 19 Nov 77 pp 234-239

[Article: "About the Teaching of Sociology and the Training of Sociologists, and About the Tasks of Its Further Development"]

[Text] Report submitted by the MSZMP KB's [Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Department of Science, Public Education and Cultural Affairs and by the Ministry of Education to and accepted by the MSZMP KB's Agitation and Propaganda Committee.

The Agitation and Propaganda Committee during this year's 29 March session discussed and accepted the informational report prepared by the Central Committee's Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Affairs Department about the situation of sociology, except its points dealing with the university level teaching of sociology and with the training of sociologists, and assigned the Ministry of Education to work out modified proposals for this within two months and to submit those to the Agitation and Propaganda Committee. The Ministry of Education's Main Department of Marxism-Leninism, together with the universities affected, having completed this work, submits the report about the situation of the teaching of sociology and the training of sociologists, and the proposals regarding this subject, to the Agitation and Propaganda Committee as follows:

1. The Situation of the Teaching of Sociology and of the Professional Training of Sociologists in Higher Education

a) The teaching of sociology has little tradition in our country. For a brief time after the liberation--from 1946 to 1949--there was some teaching of sociology and professional training at the Budapest university, but the teaching of sociology in a broader circle only began following this at the beginning of the sixties.

Roughly simultaneously with the developing of domestic sociological research, the teaching of sociology was begun in the departments of jurisprudence of the Budapest, Pecs and Szeged universities, in some divisions of the departments of philosophy of the Budapest and the Debrecen universities, and at

the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences. Recently, the teaching of sociology was also begun at the Pecs University of Medical Sciences.

Teaching in the beginning, which to an overwhelming extent was characterized by specialized sociology, did not always have sufficient ideological and methodological foundations. Specialized sociological subjects were, and are even now, taught mostly under the supervision of various departments. Only the entirety of the teaching plans of the institutions are called upon to assure coordination of these subjects.

Even though later--primarily through incorporation of certain topics of general sociology--the specialized sociology subjects gradually became increasingly suitable to fulfill their functions, even today, at many places, specialized sociology subjects are being taught without foundations in general sociology, or even if general sociology is taught, the sociology subjects are not sufficiently coordinated. As a consequence of this, the teaching of general sociology--in spite of results in the beginning--cannot be considered as solved either in its contents, or with respect to the position it occupies in higher education, and the extent at which it is being taught. At this time, one-half year of general sociology lecture is compulsory in the law schools for all students. Besides this, within the framework of the so-called specialization preparation, professional sociology subjects are also taught to them.

Sociology has been a required subject at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences since 1976. The Economic Sociology Research Group, which even today takes care of the teaching, was formed in 1972 and to date has been teaching specialized sociology subjects exclusively. As of the fall of 1977, teaching will extend also to cover general sociology and also the foundations of methodology.

At the Faculty of Philosophy of the Lorand Eotvos University, students of philosophy, public education, scientific socialism, library science, and psychology all take general sociology courses. Education majors take educational sociology, public education majors take several professional sociology subjects, and history majors take special sociology courses.

In the Faculty of Philosophy of the Lajos Kossuth University, general and educational sociology are compulsory for public education majors, and general sociology is for psychology majors.

Among the universities of medical sciences, systematic teaching of sociology has only been going on at Pecs, special colloquia have been conducted in Budapest and Debrecen for years, and at Szeged since the beginning of this academic year, organized by the Marxism-Leninism Institute. During the continued development of the training of doctors, the introduction of a one-half year general sociology colloquia will also become possible in the near future.

Besides the universities mentioned, special sociology colloquia have also been started in numerous other universities and colleges as early as at the beginning of the sixties. The initiative has already become institutionalized, teachers of Marxism-Leninism are holding special sociology sessions as a departmental task.

Several years of experience in teaching professional and special branch courses has been accumulated at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences, at the Szeged and Budapest law schools, at the Pecs University of Medical Sciences, and at the Philosophical Sciences Department of the Lorand Eotvos University.

Preparation of diploma work within the frame work of specialized sociology seminars has proven to be an effective form, which affects 25-30 students at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences annually. Nearly half of these become employed as sociologists, and each year 5-6 graduates earn PhD's at the university in economic sociology.

Institutionalization of the teaching of sociology, creation of a sociology group to operate independently or within the Marxism-Leninism Department is contained in the growth plans of several universities and colleges. The realization of this effort and the broadening of the teaching of sociology is made more difficult by the shortage of professionally trained cadre, and the lack of solution of continued training of teachers.

Our basic concern is that the majority of the instructors do not possess professional sociologist training. They also have to teach their main subjects (philosophy, etc.) thus they cannot concentrate on sociology even in their self-education. The majority of them do not even have time to conduct well-founded experimental work, research.

At the same time, the demand for teaching sociology subjects is constantly increasing. This is related partly to the increase of demands of training this type of professionals, and partly with the need to make ideological training more multi-lateral, more colorful. Both the higher level of professional training and the more thorough ideological training of the young professionals demand increasingly a better understanding of the processes taking place in our society, the discovery and engraving into the conscious mind of such sociological correlations which at the present time are not assured either by the specialized subject, or by ideological training. In order that the teaching of sociology may be able to satisfy these requirements, it must be made better organized and of higher level, and in the function of creating the conditions for cadre, teaching of general sociology must be extended over the entire higher education.

b) One of the key questions of Hungarian sociology--as was also emphasized in the report prepared about the situation of sociology--is the strengthening, broadening of the specialized training and advanced training of sociologists, assuring the cadre-conditions and replacement supply of

sociology teaching and research. Doing this, we can and must built on the already developed organizational framework and educational traditions.

The Department of Sociology established in 1970 at the School of Philosophical Sciences of Lorand Eotvos University began professional training of sociologists in the 1971-72 academic year in the auxiliary evening school, and in the 1972-73 academic year as a B subject in the day school. Only one class started in the day school, and it will graduate this year. There were, or are, about 90 students in the auxiliary evening course, about 60 of them have graduated. Those philosophers, economists, engineers, mathematicians and young professionals having other university diplomas complete the auxiliary course, who work mostly in sociologist assignments. Besides this, since 1963 several of the philosophy, public education and psychology major students have written professional sociology dissertations, and part of these also find employment in the area of sociological work. Of them, each year 8-10 submit doctoral dissertations at the university in sociology.

The history of professional training thus far proves that at the present time, primarily the training at the scientific and economic universities provide adequate initiative and conditions for the training of sociologists. But experience also shows that the task of professional training cannot be solved independently in university training either in the faculty of philosophy or at the economic university.

The ministry, in seeking the possibility of other solution to professional training, examined the possibility of forming a department of sociology at the Pecs University, where legal and economic training are accomplished in the same institution. Unfortunately, due to the unresolvability of material and personnel conditions, this plan at the present time cannot be carried out. Because of similar reasons--primarily the lack of cadre conditions--expansion of professional training of sociologists coupled with professional training in other disciplines (doctor, engineer, lawyer, etc.) cannot be realized now. One can and must return to these possibilities--even among these, in the first place, to the question of professional training to be developed at the Pecs University--as a function of developing the cadre conditions.

At the same time, experience thus far also shows that establishment of a one-department training of sociologists is not expedient. Future sociologists must be accomplished in some profession in order to be able to apply adequately their sociological knowledge in a given area of society's life, and to be able to work a branch of professional sociology (legal sociology, educational sociology, industrial sociology, etc.). Besides this, the complex nature of sociological knowledge must also be taken into consideration in the area of admittance to the profession of sociology: because of age characteristics and the lack of life experience, it is not expedient to enroll students in these professions right after high school graduation at 18 years of age, postgraduate forms of training must be given

preference, within the framework of which the sociology training and re-training of already graduated young professionals can be accomplished, or those forms of training in the daytime schools which coupled with other professions, and after completion of the first academic year make possible the training, selection, or admission (for example, B course programs) of future sociologists.

#### Proposals

1. General sociology must be gradually made compulsory in the universities and colleges. As a first step--since the conditions already exist here--in the law schools of universities, in medical science universities and in the appropriate departments of the faculties of philosophy. (It is already compulsory in the curricula of universities of economic sciences.) As a second step--in harmony with assuring instructors--teaching of general sociology must be introduced in technical and agricultural higher education, and finally at the universities which train secondary and elementary school teachers. It is necessary that the teaching plan guide principles and the teaching plans under preparation should already include expansion of the teaching of sociology in this direction.

The Ministry of Education should prepare the program and outline material of general sociology. It should consider time limitations, and build the contents of the subject matter on the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism's fundamental subjects. The material taught should contain the most general concepts and methods of Marxist sociology. It should make use of the domestic social sciences and international results of Marxist research. Questions related to the socialist societies, the social structure of today's Hungary, its organizations, settlement conditions, life styles of the classes and strata must be placed in focus.

In the future, specialized sociology should not be taught in institutions of higher education without teaching general sociology. The characteristics of the professions should also be taken into consideration in developing the general sociology programs. Special courses must also endeavor to do this.

In those institutions where the conditions of teaching sociology cannot be developed in the near future, training may also be solved temporarily through cooperation. Training must be assigned to qualified instructors of other universities, schools operating in the given city or area.

2. Teaching of specialized and branch-sociology must be developed gradually, or solidified in the training of lawyers, engineers, economists, agronomists. In the public education areas, teaching of educational sociology must be broadened and elevated to a higher level. But it is not enough to teach the results of social research of some professional areas, efforts must be made that the students may gain specific practical, methodological abilities to analyze the conditions of the given area.

Teaching of specialized sociologies makes it necessary that at the given universities such bases, groups, chairs be formed which also perform continuous research work, either independently or linked to another research center. This is why it is expedient to develop the Chair of Sociology at the Lorand Eotvos University into a shop of various sociological issues of historical and educational sociology, and the Economic Sociology Research Group of the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences into a shop of various sociological issues of economics, or to create such bases for legal sociology in the law school, for medical sociology in the medical school, industrial sociology at the Budapest Technical University and at the universities of agricultural sciences. The entire activity of these bases--including their research work--serves to create the conditions of higher level education.

3. It is expedient to further develop the professional training of sociologists in connection with other professions, first of all in the training of philosophers and economists, but later also in the training of lawyers, engineers and doctors. Due to the nature of training at the medical university and of the training of engineers, this can be accomplished primarily within the framework of postgraduate training. In the training of lawyers--in reviewing the training--efforts must be made that specialization in sociology may also become possible.

In the coming years (beginning with the 1978-79 academic year) professional training in sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy at the Lorand Eotvos University must be reorganized, and must be started up at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences.

Based on the guide principles of the philosophy department's curriculum, the curriculum of sociologist training in the day school in the B course programs (second professions) [minors] must be worked out, and beginning with the 1978-79 academic year, this department must be gradually developed at the Lorand Eotvos University.

At the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences--within the framework of modernization of the university training system--using the opportunities provided by the so-called block of alternatives [elective courses], it will be expedient to begin professional training in the 1978-79 academic year. Later, by expanding the block of electives, it will be expedient to bifurcate certain branches with the sociology profession (industrial sociologists, tradesociologist, etc.).

Based on experience gained thus far, training must be continued and modernized in the evening school of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Lorand Eotvos University [ELTE].

The two universities should solve the professional sociology training conducted within the framework of the training of philosophy majors and economists through cooperation. The Karl Marx University of Economic

Sciences should provide the instruction of economics, economic sociology, mathematics, statistics, demographic subjects also at the ELTE's department of philosophy, and the Sociology Chair of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Lorand Eotvos University should also teach general sociology, the history of sociology and other subjects which are indispensable to the professional training of sociologists, but at the present time their teaching at the proper level is not assured at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences.

4. The two-year independent course for those sociology instructors and researchers who do not have professional sociologist training, must be organized under the direction of ELTE's Sociology Chair. This postgraduate training would temporarily ease the sociologist manpower shortage. The ministries which direct higher education and the party's instructional institutions should assure those conditions that enable the instructors and researchers to participate in the training.

Advanced training of professionally trained sociologists must also be institutionalized. It will be expeditious to solve this in the coming years under the organization of the Lorand Eotvos University Sociology Chair, with the enlistment of other forces. Later, the possibility of developing an independent continued education center must also be examined.

5. In the interest of the teaching of sociology, of broadening the professional training and continued education of sociologists, the objective and subjective conditions of instruction and research must be expanded.

The Ministry of Education should see to it that the Lorand Eotvos University of Sciences and the Sociology Chair or group of the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences should be able to expand their staffs of instructors and researchers in order to insure the conditions of professional training and continued education. The technical equipment necessary for the research and instruction work of these bases should be further increased, and the staff of assistants should be increased. Efforts should be made that the two universities should make use of these conditions in good coordination and effectively. In proportion with the growth of the tasks, it should provide additional space to house the new instructors, researchers and the technical equipment, and for the purposes of special training.

The ministries directing higher education should see to it in their cadre-development plans that the conditions of instruction of sociology training should gradually develop, in accordance with the contents of points 1 and 2.

6. Directing the teaching of sociology must be standardized at the universities and colleges, and in the Ministry of Education. The teaching of general sociology must be organized within the framework of the Marxism-Leninism chairs. These chairs should also coordinate the teaching of general sociology, specialized sociology and special courses.

The Ministry of Education's Main Department of Marxism-Leninism Instruction should be responsible for the teaching of general sociology, for the subject development and for developing the conditions. It should also coordinate the teaching of all subjects of sociology. It should directly manage the professional sociology training and continued education.

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CSO: 2500

MORE STRICT ENFORCEMENT OF LABOR CODE SUGGESTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 20 Oct 77 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Gonczarski: "Labor Code Instruments Exist; We Have to Play on Them"]

[Text] There is no doubt: the 2-year practice of using the Labor Code has indicated that it has gained universal approval and is fair in its general assumptions and its particular solutions. Thanks to it, legal awareness in this field has grown considerably, and observance of the law has been strengthened in labor relations.

The bi-level system of investigating disputes stemming from labor relations also has passed the test completely, and the very number of these matters has not assumed epidemic proportions, despite the expectations of some people. The fact that most disputes have been settled within the establishments also attests to the positive features of the solutions. This means that both parties, the employee and the employer, ultimately will be able to reach a mutual solution by simply complying with the appropriate regulations of the code, without resorting to a further prolongation of the litigation through successive channels.

During the 2 years of operation of this collection of the rights and duties of the more than 12 million Poles, certain shortcomings also have been revealed. One of them is the insufficient use of those regulations in the code which are supposed to insure the introduction and maintenance of harmony, discipline, order, and strict observance of workers' obligations. For the truth is that all kinds of "left-handers," "sightseers" transferring from one plant to another, and common bunglers are taking advantage of this leniency.

In the meantime, the code puts into the employer's hands suitable instruments in the form of a catalog of rewards and penalties. One only has to want to "play" on these instruments. To be sure, the particular situation on the job market also has an influence on this, and no other, policy of plants towards the mentioned group of people. In fact, many

employers treat this situation as a fetish and do not attempt to change it, since they fear for their own plan, their own bonuses, and their own indexes. This specific particularism encourages "sightseers" and bunglers, undisciplined people, even more to "be a burden" on an employer.

Let us look at the numbers: in 1976 more than 400,000 people abandoned work in the socialized economy. It is difficult to figure to the zloty the economic losses borne as a result. It is also disturbing that young people with little work training and frequently with few qualifications constitute nearly 80 percent of this army, which is to say a large part.

Even if we assume that these young people are not motivated to do honest, disciplined work and that in their pursuit of wages they are continually seeking a better paying and more indulgent employer, we cannot lay the blame for this behavior entirely on them. Those who create from them the conditions which foster continual "trips" (that is, job transfers) also are guilty.

Research on the fluctuation of cadres will be of no use if work establishments do not observe the principle of paying those who have left work elsewhere at one wage rate lower. The situation demands that real sanctions, and not the illusory ones used to date, be levied against employers who accept "sightseers" with open arms and at a higher salary.

To be sure, the unions have been provided with sanctions to be levied against the leaders of the units subordinate to them for nonobservance of regulations; these sanctions have already been discussed. If they really were used, many a director would stop to consider the fact that it is more worthwhile to educate well one young worker still untainted by sightseers' desires than to buy ever new wanderers on the market.

This is precisely the other side of the phenomenon. Appropriate labor law regulations exist which call for the use of defined educative and adaptational means with young people. It is not only the leadership of the factory, department, or brigade, for example, which is responsible for their use; this obligation follows from the idea of the work of the political and social institutions operating within the establishment and, therefore, concerns the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], among other organizations. How the organization will take care of the "beginner," how it will introduce him into factory life, how it will advise him of the connection between the results of his work, on the one hand, and his place and position among the labor force and his prospects for advancement, on the other--all these factors determine the durability of the tie of this "beginner" to the given institution or establishment. The truth is that this so very important educative process, if neglected, will bring about unjustified fluctuation.

Let us examine yet another phenomenon, that of common bungling. When we buy a pair of boots with soles that are coming unstuck, we are indignant

at the producer and identify his bungling with the company trademark. It would be difficult for this to be otherwise, but really it is not the abstract producer who is guilty again and again but rather Mr X, who glued the soles poorly, and Mr. Y, who, in checking, passed this shoddy merchandise.

Remuneration for defective execution of products or services through the fault of the worker is not part of the idea of article 82 of the Labor Code. If the effect of a poorly performed act through the fault of a worker has lowered the quality of a product or service, compensation to the responsible people should be lowered proportionately.

Question: In practice, who uses this regulation? Answer: Not many employers. To the question "Why?" the statistics director will reply: For I have pursued a plan, because I have a small work force and would have an even smaller one if I were to begin lopping off wages on account of poor quality; therefore, the plan would be in even worse shape--and this is most important, after all--and again there would be defects and shoddy merchandise, for there would be haste, I again would penalize the responsible workers, people would leave, and in the end I would be alone...

This explanation is not devoid of logic, but it is false logic. It is employed whenever indolence in the organization of work leads to the first disquieting signs--to a collapse of plans, to poor quality of production, to fluctuation, etc., etc.

Perhaps it is finally necessary to begin to use consistently one more regulation of the Labor Code--article 117 paragraph 3, which says that supervision and technical control workers who, through lack of performance or improper discharge of obligations, have contributed through their own fault to the occurrence of defects, the lowering of quality in the process of production, transport, or storage and in this manner have exposed their employer to losses, will bear material responsibility in accordance with articles 114-119 of the Labor Code.

And these are the very Labor Code instruments whose consistent use will undoubtedly have a bearing upon more honest, more efficient, and more disciplined work. Then we will not have to wait long for positive economic results. And, after all, we are all concerned with achieving them.

8729

CSO: 2600

# TRENDS IN MILITARY MEDICINE ORGANIZATION NOTED

Warsaw LEKARZ WOJSKOWY in Polish No 9, Sep 77 pp 555-558

[Article by Lt Col Jerzy Gawryluk, MD: "Scientific and Technical Progress Relative to the Role and Status of Military Health Service in Providing Medical Support on Modern Battlefield," from the Department of Military Health Protection Organization, Center of Postgraduate Education, the Military Medical Academy. Head of the Department: Col J. Drapiewski, MD.]

[Text] The purpose of this article is to point out the effects of scientific and technical advances in the armed forces on the organization of the military health service, its equipment, and the principles followed in implementing medical support of modern combat operations.

Doctrinal assumptions envision the conduct of future combat operations on a wide front. The troops will be operating on considerable territories, often in isolation (in separate directions), forced to rely on their own devices, their commanders' initiative, and the soldiers' endurance. Adding to this the great momentum of future combat operations, rapid changes in not only the tactical but the operational and strategic situation as well, transportation problems resulting from the use of mass strike weapons, difficulties in commanding the troops due to destruction of communications systems, the effects of moral, psychological, and physical factors on the personnel's combat ability as well as mass incidence of structurally complicated medical losses, we will have a sum of factors influencing the operating conditions of health services and at the same time determining the organization and application of medical support.

Scientific and technological progress in the military area is visible in the complete mechanization and "armorization" of armed forces, developing of the air force, manufacturing of complex electrotechnical equipment and improved kinds of weapons, and a rapid growth in the means of mass destruction, radically affecting numerous principles of the art of war<sup>3</sup>. In effect, essential modifications occurred in the principles of conducting combat actions and operations in which nuclear and rocket weaponry as well as other means of mass-destruction play a dominant role.

The above reasons at the same time determine the substance and principles of medical service within the organizational system of the armed forces, defining its role and position in the process of developing the troops' combat readiness and ability.

This is also bound to involve some changes in the views on the theory and practice of medical support in future combat operations. It should be emphasized that the process of change in the organization and work methods of the medical service is closely connected with the modifications that are now occurring in military technology, operational art, and tactics. The introduction of new kinds of weaponry in armed forces has produced a radical change in the organizational structure and equipment of the military medical service.

Under contemporary conditions, the military medical service is an integral, increasingly important and indispensable part of an army, while the directions of development and change in this service must evolve in full harmony with the general developmental trends in the art of war. Medical service must constitute a strong and unfailing basis for complete support of war activities, conducted on the great scale made possible by the operational and strategic potential of present-day armies, with the modern weapons and technical equipment at their disposal.<sup>1</sup>

Scientific and technical progress involves other, no less important, consequences in the area of medical support. The increasingly powerful means of destruction have manifestly altered the nature and volume of medical losses on the hypothetical battlefield. The vast annihilating power of new weapons demands that we should be prepared for concentrations of massive medical losses of a complex character and structure occurring in combat activity zones as well as in rear areas. This novel phenomenon, unknown until recently, required a re-evaluation of certain concepts of the role and position of the medical service on contemporary battlefields.<sup>3</sup>

The great territorial sweep of anticipated operations and their rapid pace have brought out some contradictions between the troops' operating speed and the ability of medical service units (or subunits) to keep up that pace and ensure continued medical/evacuation support. Priorities in this area include the need to equip the medical service, in accordance with the branch of service, with means of transportation, modern medical equipment, and improved devices for evacuation of injured persons. Experiences of previous wars clearly demonstrate that noticeable differences in providing the troops with combat equipment having a specific level of mobility, unmatched by the equipment supplied to medical units, have complicated the execution of medical support tasks and increased irretrievable losses, as happened during the fighting on the Czerniakow and Zoliborz beachheads 16-22 September 1944.<sup>4</sup>

In the present setting, the mobility and maneuverability of the medical service in units and tactical groupings urgently need to be matched with the mobility and maneuverability of the troops.<sup>3</sup> The problem of technical

equipment of tactical groupings' medical services has become one of the fundamental conditions for ensuring combat readiness and ability of the troops. This requirement is and will continue to be more pressing, as the advances in "technologizing" the armed forces are accelerating and as the future combat operations become increasingly complex.

The modernity of the medical services in our armed forces is seen not only in the saturation of the units with medical technology. The efforts of the medical service are continually focused on methodically modernizing and perfecting the facilities and equipment, put into use in earlier years, as well as on the development, production, and application of new types in keeping with the changing requirements of defense.

As examples of modernization of medical technology with which the medical service units and subunits are collectively equipped, one can mention the modern dressing wards, pre-operating and operating rooms, X-rays, and universal laboratories on trucks.

Parallel with the management system, analytical techniques based on medium-level mechanization and computers are increasingly applied and a system for automation of management and command processes is being developed. Computer technology is radically modifying the previous methods of collecting, processing, and storage of information as well as the principles followed in utilizing information. This technology is also employed in the planning of medical support for combat operations, including among other things the following:

- the level of expected medical losses with a breakdown into groups depending on the branch of service;
- medical and evacuation requirements for each group;
- capabilities of the units and facilities of the medical service;
- demand for infusion liquids;
- a balance sheet of the needs and capabilities of the medical service.

These calculations can be completed for each day of combat activity and comprehensively for an entire period of fighting.

The nature of contemporary ways and means of warfare and the anticipated course of a possible war demand that the medical service should at all times be ready for accomplishing its tasks in the area of medical support.

In order to achieve this objective, health service modernization programs are developed so as to ensure the best possible conditions for regenerating the medical units' working capability and enabling them to execute quick maneuvers to provide medical support of an operation at a required speed and

assure rendering effective assistance to all those stricken in the course of the operation, while at the same time ensuring that the material resources possessed by the medical units render them as independent as possible of deliveries during that period.

The principles of organization and operation of medical service should closely follow the requirements to be met and working conditions; the equipment and facilities of medical units should not differ in quality from the technical level of equipment and ordnance of particular branches of service.

The contemporary medical service essentially satisfied the above requirements, moreover, the continued advances of technology permit systematic modernization of the organizational structure and improvement of methods of operation of the medical service.

However, it should be noted that the fundamental principles of health service operation change with relative slowness. The basic tasks of health service, defined throughout earlier wars, particularly World War II, have largely remained valid, although they are substantially expanded and suitably modernized. Considering the extensive medical losses likely to occur in a modern war, increasing importance is taken on by a health service, furnished with modern equipment, and thus enabled to operate efficiently in the process of saving the lives and health of those afflicted and assuring a large percentage of them a speedy return to the ranks.

Familiarity with the principles of health service operations is particularly important for proper organization of its activities in wartime. Accordingly, correct anticipation of the character of a modern war, advance development of the ways and methods of operation of the health service in the form of efficiently implemented plans of medical support of combat activities, coupled with the availability of a trained cadre, constitute an indispensable condition for the medical service's accomplishment of its tasks in wartime.

All speculations concerning a possible war, in particular, on medical losses and respective medical and evacuational support, are in some degree hypothetical.

However, we are taught by experience that doctrinal principles correctly developed under peaceful conditions, are to a large extent applicable to practical medical support of combat activities. Hence, there exists a need for continually perfecting the principles of the military medical support and improving the organizational structure of the medical service units and sub-units.

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8795

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## ROMANIA

### CONTRIBUTION TO IMPROVEMENT OF UN, INTERNATIONAL LIFE

Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian 22, 29 Sep, 6 Oct 77

/Article by Prof Dr Dumitru Mazilu/

/22 Sep 77, pp 12-13/

/Text/ Exceptionally synthesizing Romania's concerns, initiatives, and involvement in the attainment of the aspirations in terms of democratizing international life, Nicolae Ceausescu stated the following at the recent big popular rally in Suceava Municipality: "We act firmly to help place international relations on the principles of full equality of rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, renunciation of force and threat with force, and respect for each people's right to be masters of their national wealth and their own destiny and build up their own life according to their own will, without any foreign interference." Undoubtedly, only these democratic principles can underlie the relations needed to build a world in which the reigning elements would be trust -- with suspicion eliminated; mutual respect -- with the "right" of the strongest eliminated; justice and equity -- with all kinds of inequities removed. In Romania's outlook, the advancement of these principles, their confirmation in acknowledged international documents, and, especially, the observance of these principles in the mutual relations of big, mid-size, and small states, is the major condition, the sine qua non of the democratization of international life.

In recent years this idea has gained more and more ground in the modern world, focusing on the erection of a new edifice of international relations in which justice and equity should reign in fact and not only in words as it still often occurs in certain areas of the world. More and more voices speak out for the complete abolition of oppression and for the prevention of force being used in any form by some against others, and primarily against the weak.

Many political personalities condemn the antidemocratic practices in international life and more and more firmly speak out for a new

course of international relations, based -- as pointed out by UN secretary general Kurt Waldheim in the introduction to the report on the activity of the organization -- on the democratic, humanist principles, in the context of a more marked course of détente and cooperation. According to H. S. Amerasinghe, chairman of the 31st session of the General Assembly, which ended last Friday, this new course requires a complete and rapid change of attitude to what appears as obsolete and outdated in international relations.

### Progressive Traditions

Consistently working for building up a new society on the ancestral soil, our people also firmly speak out for the democratic development of international life and relations. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "Our party and all our people will do their utmost to help build up new international relations, in which each people, each nation may develop freely and build up a life of well-being and happiness in a world of peace and cooperation on our planet."

In advancing these lofty ideas of the democratization of international life Romania is inspired by the shining concepts of the forerunners, who -- in the effort of synthesis of the objective requirements involved in the development of the country in the community of world nations and peoples -- stated that profound changes are needed in national and international relations, to the effect of foundation "on a rational structure", according to Kogalniceanu, and establishment of "equality among nations," according to Balcescu. This, because, according to the Romanian poet and thinker Mihail Eminescu, in his essay on "Our Foreign Policy," "the moral dignity of the small may be as significant as that of the big, and to fight and die for the values which are most sacred to the human heart is as noble to the small as it is to the big." Expressing the Romanian concept of equality and democracy in the relations with other states and other peoples, Simion Barnutiu, at the 1848 big rally in Blaj, stated that the "Romanian nation neither wants to reign over other nations, nor will it permit to be subjugated by others. It wants equal right for all." We come across these ideas -- developed and enriched -- in the writings of Nicolae Iorga, Vasile Parvan, A. D. Xenopol, Dimitrie Gusti, Nicolae Titulescu, and others. The outstanding Romanian sociologist Dimitrie Gusti pointed out: "A nation more powerfully asserts itself in world history by its spiritual and cultural victories than by military triumphs.... The last-named are temporary and uncertain, according to special constellations and situations, whereas an impressive moral action, all that actually helps to enhance and enrich the common spiritual treasure-store of mankind brings the nations a permanent prestige and a full justification of their right to existence, alongside of the great nations of the world." From the lofty rostrum of the League of Nations, one of the greatest diplomats of all times, Nicolae Titulescu -- pointing out the principles of democratism in international

life -- stated that "the glorious destinies of peoples do not depend on their numerical strength or the territorial size of their countries, but on the manner in which they are able and serve civilization." An end had to be put to the situations established in the world, that allowed the confirmation of injustice, which Lermontov expressed by the statement that "justice always is on the side of the strongest" and Blaise Pascal, by the meditation which became famous: "Not being able to cause what is just to be strong, the world caused what is strong to be just."

Nowadays, the peoples of the world speak out more and more firmly for a new course, for a new system of relations, in which justice, equity, and fairness may triumph. The Romanian people, faithful to their progressive traditions, work firmly for the erection of a new edifice in which full equality of rights may reign in practice, in the organization and development of international relations, and not only in words, in declarations of good intentions, as it still happens once in a while. They do so, convinced as they are that only by firmness and by the common fight of peoples, of progressive forces everywhere, oppression and exploitation will be eliminated and force will no longer be used in the relations among states, in international life.

#### All-Embracing Process

Our country has pointed out the all-embracing nature of the intricate process of the democratization of international life, pinpointing both its economic-social and political-judicial dimensions. Proceeding from the comprehension of the more and more marked interactions of today's world, Romania has drawn attention to the anachronism of the old structures and to the need for building new, democratic relations in international life. In this concept, in the long and very complex process of the inter-European negotiations at Helsinki and Geneva, in the formulation and completion of the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, in the proceedings of the UN sessions -- through its many initiatives and proposals on the establishment of a new international economic order, on achieving disarmament, and, in the first place, nuclear disarmament, and on the improvement and democratization of UN activity -- Romania has significantly helped to work out and define concrete approaches in the comprehensive process of democratization of international relations. During the formulation and furtherance of the Romanian initiatives, our country's concept on the democratization of international relations has made itself more widely and more clearly understood.

In Romania's concept, this requires concrete and effective steps and moves for: a. The elimination of the old relations of inequity and the relations of oppression and domination, and the removal of the colonialist and neocolonialist policy; b. The removal of any practices

which are opposed to the free development of peoples in accordance with their own will and aspirations; c. The exercise by each nation of the sacred right to make use of its own resources; d. The development of new international relations, based on equality, independence, noninterference, and mutual advantage; e. Bringing of the development levels closer to each other and elimination of the economic lags between countries; f. Ensured access of all countries to the sources of energy and raw materials and to scientific and technological gains; g. By joint efforts, a solution to the problem of world food, on the basis of the more rapid growth of agricultural output, greater provision of technological and chemical facilities to agriculture in all areas of the world and completion of a comprehensive program for food and agriculture with a view to resolving food problems; h. Actual support of the more rapid progress of developing countries, in the trade, technological, and financial areas; i. Broader participation of all states, on an equal footing, in debating and resolving the basic problems of the world today; j. Greater involvement of international organizations in this area, by widening cooperation within their framework and by democratizing their structures and activity.

In our country's view, the democratization of international relations must involve both the economic and political facets, in light of the close interaction of the two areas, characterized by a more and more marked interconnection in the modern world. In order to establish relations of cooperation, based on equality and equity, it is necessary to act very responsibly to strengthen the course of detente, to settle disputes by negotiations, and to ensure world peace. Now, more than ever before, in mankind's history, the peoples have the actual prospect of building up their future and of opening up a new era of human civilization.

The evolution of the present-day world proves -- by the convincing might of facts -- that the objective conditions of the democratization of international relations lies in the growing capacity of progressive forces to decisively influence the course of history. In this context, the need for the active involvement of all countries in international life, with equal rights, is increasingly asserting itself. Small and mid-size countries -- and among them the developing and nonaligned countries -- are meant to play an ever more active role in the assertion of the new principles of international relations. Proceeding from the historical responsibility to the future of mankind, Romania works for the strengthening of the cooperation of all the revolutionary, progressive forces in the fight for peace and social progress, for a new economic order and international politics, for the independent development of every nation along the road of progress and civilization.

## Need for Eliminating Economic Lags

The democratization of international relations for which Romania has campaigned at the UN and in other international bodies, together with other states, is a major requirement of our days because:

a. The inequities and disparities in today's world have reached unexpected proportions; b. The peoples, becoming more and more aware of the role assigned to them in the structuring of international relations, have gained the necessary trust in the force derived from the correctness of the cause which they champion, from the need and prospect for establishing a genuinely democratic system, based on justice and equity, in international life.

Today, one-fourth of mankind lives in the 25 "poorest countries," where an annual per capita rough domestic product of 100 dollars only leaves about 30 cents a day for food, that is for at most 1,900 calories daily and maximum 46.6 gr proteins (including only 6-12 gr animal proteins), enough for a.... possible survival.

Instead of decreasing, the economic lags have been continuously increasing. This has seriously affected the overall economic evolution and is a factor of narrowing of the world market and of economic crisis, also having repercussions on industrially advanced countries. The document issued by Romania at the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly states: "These situations generate tension and animosity and create the danger of increasing political instability and international strain, spelling great perils to world peace." In Romania's concept, the elimination of lags must figure as an essential and constant concern of each state and of all states and be the subject of special programs providing for specific moves and practical and effective steps. This, because as indicated by Nicolae Ceausescu, "there can be no detente in the context of the maintenance of the status of underdevelopment! One cannot speak of detente and genuine peace as long as the world is divided into rich and poor! Hence, we must realize that the achievement of security in Europe and of international detente and peace is directly connected with the achievement of the new economic order, with the development of all nations, and with the well-being, independence, and happiness of each people."

Peoples today are more and more aware of the overwhelming role which they have been assigned to play in building up a better organized world, one based on truth, justice and democracy. Extremely significant and profound changes have occurred in the world. The simple survey of the events of the last decades and of the profound changes of the postwar period, which, by their magnitude, have added an unprecedented chapter to the revolutionary transformation of the world, permit us to comprehend the real dimensions of these changes, with deep democratic repercussions. We are witnessing the constant increase in the number of young, independent states, freed from

colonialist exploitation, which plan to build up advanced social-economic structures and which, on the basis of the study and conscious selection of the most appropriate avenues and methods, display their determination to be masters of their own material and spiritual resources and to independently build their destiny, in light of their national interests and traditions. In today's world scene, there is not a single region, zone, or continent that does not see the involvement of peoples, of all progressive forces, with growing vigor and impressive results, in building up the history of our time.

#### UN and Democratization

By its value of body of debate and negotiation, with universal impact, the UN stands out as the most representative organ, whose effectiveness is directly proportional to its role in the furtherance of the comprehensive process of democratization of international life.

Moreover, we must vigorously emphasize that by its moves and initiatives, Romania consistently focuses on the assertion of the United Nations as an active factor in the just, durable, and equitable resolving -- with the participation of all and in the interest of all -- of the major issues of our time, in the building up of genuinely democratic international relations, and in the creation of a new world economic and political order.

Speaking out for the democratic discussion of the major world topics of our time -- on whose solution world peace and security depend -- Romania, by its moves at the UN and in its specialized bodies, we may say, advanced a broad, concrete and coherent program of approach and solution to the priority problems of mankind. The imperatives of overall disarmament and, in the first place, of nuclear disarmament, of the new international economic order, and the abolition of colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, and racism are goals of worldwide range and top imperativeness. For these goals our country not only has provided the vigor of a unique and profound thought but, in the spirit of responsibility for the fate of humanity, has concretely worked for an approach on a durable, efficient, and, hence, fundamentally democratic basis.

By its comprehensive agenda, this session of the United Nations is designed to provide the opportunity for profound discussions and a wide field for outlining significant courses and trends in the democratization of international life and relations. It is also designed to take new steps toward the implementation of the principle of universality in terms of UN composition -- by admitting new members, respectively the Vietnam SR and Djibouti -- and in terms of debate and decision-making. Firmly supporting this legal tendency, in conformance with the major changes of the world today,

by its own initiatives, Romania works -- in this area also -- for the establishment of a new, profoundly revolutionary policy in international life, equally serving the national interests of the Romanian people and the interests of all the other peoples and the cause of world peace and international cooperation.

[29 Sep 77, pp 12-13]

[Text] The world has changed considerably since 1945, with the UN itself undergoing a number of transformations. Its membership has increased from 51 to 149, as many countries which formerly were under colonialist rule have succeeded in freeing themselves and are asserting themselves and acting independently and on a self-reliant basis. However, in various areas of the world, many problems, in spite of the efforts of the UN, have remained unsolved and conflictual situations, tension, and suspicion still occur. As pointed out by Kurt Waldheim, the UN Secretary General, in the report on the activity of the organization (Doc. A/32/1/1977), "new serious problems have recently appeared in the foreground of international life.... Among these problems we may list the growing tension in some parts of North and East Africa. The efforts made to resume negotiations in the Middle East have not yet shown results. We are anxiously waiting to see the deadlock on Southern Rhodesia and Namibia to be broken. In Cyprus the talks are far from reaching an agreement on the settlement of the dispute." That is why the UN secretary general concludes that the year we are going through is fraught with old and new problems and indisputably is marked by the anxiety of the international community.

In many cases, the measures taken by the UN are not effective and many resolutions are not implemented. Therefore, the question is being more and more often and with good reason asked: What should be done, what steps should be taken to enhance the role of the UN and bring its whole activity to the level of mankind's expectations and hopes?

Outstanding political personalities, thinkers, and experts in international relations suggested solutions and proposed measures. For instance, ambassador Hamilton S. Amerasinghe, chairman of the prior session of the General Assembly, feels that we must jointly examine and explore all the avenues to strengthen the role of the UN. He holds that the problems of economic cooperation should come under its sponsorship, without however underestimate the political issues. Moreover, the foreign minister of the Philippines, Carlos Romulo, stated -- on behalf of the 42 states, including Romania, that are co-authors of the Resolution on the Special Committee for the Charter and the Enhancement of the Role of the UN (A/C 6/31 L 6) -- that the analysis made justified the efforts to improve the framework and define the avenue for the solutions to enjoy the required finality.

An acknowledged expert in international relations, Quincy Wright, pointed out the need for an efficient organization and for the transition from a policy of passivity to strategies of action on world issues (The Study of International Relations, New York, Appleton - Century - Crofts, pp 540-547). Jonathan Wilkenfeld pointed out the need for upgrading the systems of settling conflicts so that the solutions may be more durable (Domestic and Foreign Conflict Behavior of Nations, JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH, p 57).

According to Romania's concept, the UN must become more efficient and effectively help to solve the problems of mankind. In Nicolae Ceausescu's words, "we are concerned with the strengthening of the role of the United Nations Organization, with its democratization, in order to permit all states to broadly participate in its leadership and in the debate and resolving of all international problems." The achievement of these major goals involves: a. The approach to the major problems of the world today within UNO's framework and under its sponsorship; b. The upgrading of its own structures and the improvement of the functional procedures, to the effect of ensuring the effective participation of all states -- big, mid-size or small; c. The elimination of the obsolete standards and the adaptation of the rules and principles of the Charter to the realities and needs of the development of international relations.

#### An Objective, Necessary Process

The concerns and concrete moves of Romania with regard to the enhancement of the role and efficiency of the UN in international life have an objective determination. The UN is the framework for debating and resolving the intricate problems of the world today. Among these problems, a. Development; b. Disarmament; c. Decolonization; and d. Democratization have a widely acknowledged priority. The growing interactions of the world today require the more efficient examination and resolving of these problems. This is possible in an overall analysis, in light of the interplay involved. The UN can and must play this role. In a profoundly scientific concept, Nicolae Ceausescu synthesized Romania's stand on the achievement of the goals for the enhancement of the role and efficiency of the UN. He stated: "Assessing that all countries, regardless of their size or social system, must participate directly and on an equal footing in the debate and resolving of the problems which the world faces today and proceeding from the fact that the UN provides the most adequate organizational framework for the democratic discussion of these problems and the active involvement of the peoples in their resolving and in all the international life, Romania firmly works for the improvement of the activity and the enhancement of the role of the UN, for its greater involvement in the furtherance of the course of detente, in the establishment of a climate of cooperation on our planet." Consequently, our country, in formulating its stand on the problems of the role

of the UN, proceeds from the need for upgrading the activity of the United Nations for the purpose of its making an essential contribution to the materialization of the peoples' goals for the abolition of the old policy of domination and oppression, of interference in internal affairs, and of inequity, and to the establishment of new, genuinely democratic international relations, founded on the principles of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, nonresorting to force and to the threat to use it, and the furtherance of a new international economic and political order.

The primary goals of the UN continue to involve the furtherance of trust in international relations, the renunciation of force and threat with force, and the realization of a peaceful world, free of weapons, in which military disengagement and disarmament should go beyond the stage of general aims and should become actual realities. Frequently, the UN was asked to oppose the actions which cause a dangerous situation to degenerate into a conflict and to persuade opposing parties to resort to negotiations and not to weapons. The debates which are held in the UN on disarmament, and primarily on nuclear disarmament must switch from statements of good intentions to workable programs. The United Nations is called upon to play a greater role, to make this process efficient, by ending armament, and in the first place nuclear armament. In a world in which the expenditure for armament has reached the incredible sum of more than 350 billion dollars annually, in which the number of strategical nuclear loads has increased by a factor of 7 in the last 12 years, and the destructive force of nuclear armaments has gone up about 3 million times during the postwar period, not general promises but words have the value which all mankind prize. That is why the analysis made within the framework or under the sponsorship of the UN must meet a few conditions: 1. It must be concrete, frank, and realistic; and 2. It must provide for the adoption of approaches with direct practical consequences, meant to provide UN activity with efficiency in this area of outstanding importance to the evolution of all nations and peoples of the world. As stated in the Romanian Government's Reply forwarded to the UN secretary general in connection with the preparation of the General Assembly's special session on disarmament: "The system of negotiations must provide for the creation of durable structures, invested with full authority, which should also be flexible and operate on the basis of democratic work rules and procedures."

In light of these objective requirements, the UN is also supposed to play an important role in solving the major problems of modern economic and social growth. In the context in which hundreds of millions of people live in the dark cone of underdevelopment -- 70 percent of the world population only have 30 percent of the world income and their economic volume accounts for 35 percent of the agricultural output and under 7 percent of the industrial output though

they provide 37 percent of the output of the world mining industry -- the UN must frontally tackle the intricate problems of malnutrition, disasters, and diseases and seek and advance efficient approaches for the achievement of the major goals of the training and education of all the inhabitants of the world. As stated in the Romanian Government's Reply forwarded on 22 September 1977 to the UN secretary general, on the strengthening of international security and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states, "Romania holds that in eliminating underdevelopment a more active role must also be played by the United Nations Organization, its bodies, and the other international economic organizations, within whose framework the avenues and methods for building a new international economic order must be democratically and concretely discussed. Hence, in Romania's concept, the UN must: a. Take over within its framework or under its sponsorship the problems of economic cooperation, in light of the establishment of new international relations in this area as well; b. Imprint the democratic character required for a thorough and comprehensive debate; c. Ensure the efficiency of the measures by accenting their binding nature. It is known that the requirements of development were synthesized by the developing countries, Romania included, in the Declaration and the Program of Action on the building up of a new international economic order, adopted at the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly; in the resolution on International Economic Cooperation and Development, adopted at the Seventh Special Session of the UN; in the international strategy of the Second UN Decade on Development, and in the Declaration and Program of Action in Manila (1976) and the Economic Declaration and the Program of Action in Colombo (1976). These documents specify measures designed to help eliminate the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policy of inequity which -- under specific conditions -- generated serious economic and social conditions, the reality of underdevelopment. In light of this situation and of the difficulties encountered in concretizing the changes required, there is an obvious need for: a. The more direct involvement of the UN in finalizing the measures; b. The accentuation of the concrete character of the moves; c. The greater involvement of all states, including the developed ones.

The UN has taken many steps to achieve the goals of decolonization, to solve the complex problem of the liberation of peoples from colonialist rule and the building up of a free, independent, and sovereign life. However, colonialist systems still occur in more than 40 territories, with a population of 14 million, half of which is located in Southern Africa which has become one of the most dangerous areas of the world in terms of conflict. The UN must: a. More firmly implement the measures taken; b. Give more efficiency to the approaches endorsed, in the effort to prevent conflictual situations and in completely eliminating the colonialist, racialist, and apartheid policy. The issues of this session, the approaches outlined in the documents prepared are designed to highlight the greater concern of the UN with obtaining more tangible and notable results in this area also.

## Adequate Structures, Democratic Functionality

The tackling and handling of the major problems of mankind within the framework and under the sponsorship of the UN necessitates the improvement of the structures and the upgrading of the activity of the United Nations Organization, to the effect of ensuring a genuinely democratic functionality. This, because in light of the interactions of the international system, the role of the UN in the democratization of international life involves the qualitative growth, primarily, of the organization's activity. As stated by Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania supports the United Nations Organization and is instrumental in seeking approaches so that its organization and statute may better conform with the major changes which have taken place in the world and with the goals and expectations of all peoples." Our country maintains that the world organization can fulfill its duties under adequate conditions: a. By the continuous improvement of its own rules and structures; b. By more rapid adaptation to the new requirements of international activity; c. By the greater efficiency of the General Assembly and of the other specialized bodies and institutions along the road of their upgrading and democratization and involvement of all states in the formulation, endorsement, and implementation of the decisions and in the activity of the UN leading bodies.

In Romania's concept, the UN -- in the context of actual democratization -- must create conditions needed for the effective participation of all member states, on an equal footing, in all the activities of the General Assembly. To this end, a more profound discussion of issues must be ensured by: 1. The rationalization of their distribution to the various main commissions of the assembly; 2. The thorough discussion of the Report of the Security Council in the General Assembly, which should formulate relevant conclusions; 3. The annual renewal of one-third of the composition of all the subsidiary organs of the General Assembly, whose activity covers a period which is longer than a year, through elections at the assembly's sessions, with the observance of the originating criteria which underlay their foundation; 4. The structuring of each newly formed subsidiary body should only be done by the General Assembly, by elections; 5. The involvement of all UN member states in the meetings of all subsidiary bodies created by the General Assembly.

In this manner, the UN will adapt to the new realities, by reconsidering its own structures and providing the democratic framework for their efficient operation. This is the road along which the UN is supposed to proceed for their efficient operation.

## To Upgrade the Charter

In Romania's concept, the UN Charter -- this basic document of international relations and important tool for upholding world peace and furthering progress -- must fully conform with today's realities and the vital goals of the peoples. Our country considers that the overall, and sometimes contradictory, process of upgrading the Charter must be based on: a. The elimination of some historically outdated provisions which are contradictory to the actual trends and development of the world today; b. The specification and supplementation of some of the existing standards; c. The adaptation and development of the principles of international relations in light of the contributions made during the international debates of recent years, including the UN debates.

The effort to achieve these objectives is tied in with the concerns with restructuring and upgrading all UN activity. Prof Bengt Broms, chairman of the Special Committee on the Charter and the Enhancement of UNO's Role stated that "our mission is to tackle both the matters relating to the revision of the Charter and to the overall strengthening of UNO's role," to the effect of "adequately reflecting the changes in the world and formulating more complete standards."

The Special Committee on the Charter and the Enhancement of UNO's Role was created at the 30th session of the UN General Assembly, by merging the item entered by Romania, on the enhancement of UNO's role, with the item entered by the Philippines and other states, on the UN Charter. At its sessions so far this committee has made an evaluation of the problems and has compared standpoints on the handling involved. The Romanian government's view on the status of the activity conducted in this committee is that "a useful activity has been carried on, but this committee must fully implement its mandate." In our country's concept, the committee must step up its efforts -- possibly by adding specifications to its mandate -- "so that it may become a genuine laboratory in which generally acceptable approaches and measures should be worked out to upgrade the activities of the organization" (Doc. A/31/P.V.13).

By Resolution A/31 347, adopted by consensus at the 31st session of the General Assembly, the conclusion was reached that this committee "did not fulfill its task," and consequently it was decided that it should continue its activity to the effect of "examining the proposals and suggestions of states for upgrading the Charter and enhance the efficiency of the organization," with the governments being urged to forward their remarks and the UN secretary general giving his full support to this body.

In Romania's view, efforts must be further made, on the basis of the General Assembly's decisions, to the effect of: 1. Proceeding from general evaluation to the concretization of the relevant measures and the approaches already formulated in the documents of a number of states, including those of our country; 2. Reflecting the basic needs and goals of international life today so that the UN Charter, by all its contents, may inspire and orient the establishment of genuinely democratic and equitable relations among states.

Romania considers that in the future the world organization must in all its actions take into account, more than before, the objective needs in the evolution of international relations. It must transcend the orientational trends and focus its entire activity on adopting scientifically substantiated approaches characterized by a broad outlook and in conformance with the requirements of contemporary development and the effective establishment of a new international economic and political order. As an active member of the United Nations and a nonpermanent member of the Security Council, Romania is an active campaigner for the upgrading of UNO's role to the level of present-day requirements, for the greater efficiency of all its activity not only by the tackling but especially by the advancement of approaches which should ensure the democratic, free, independent, and sovereign development of all peoples. These are the major meanings and purports of Romania's active involvement in the improvement and democratization of UN activity and in the strengthening of UNO's role in achieving international cooperation, regardless of social systems, and in building up a more just and better world.

[6 Oct 77, pp 14-15]

[Text] In the context of the continuously greater interactions in the world today, the establishment and upgrading of a system of international organizations and bodies is aimed at facilitating an efficient dialogue for seeking and furthering approaches to the problems confronting mankind. In Romania's view, these organizations -- in order for them to meet the requirements of all peoples -- must: 1. Be established, and 2. Operate on democratic bases. This involves the effective involvement of all states in: a. Formulating the specific structures of the mechanisms and coordinates of the activity; b. Working out the approaches on the basis of a non-discriminating decision-making process; c. Implementing the measures adopted, for the sake of the development of each nation and of overall progress.

Synthesizing our country's stand on the democratization of international organizations, Nicolae Ceausescu stated that "Romania is determined to further most firmly work for the enhancement of the role and efficiency of the United Nations and of other international organizations." As an expression of its active concern

with achieving the goals and objectives for which they were created, Romania is a member of 50 governmental international organizations and more than 270 nongovernmental international organizations. Our country constantly works in these bodies for the provision of the conditions needed for the free and unhampered development of each nation, in the favorable climate offered by international cooperation in all areas: political, economic, social-humanitarian and cultural and scientific fields. Grouped in these basic areas of activity, the international organizations are designed to provide the adequate framework so that the member states may tackle the problems which exercise their minds, trying to -- and in more cases succeeding in -- handling them by the specific procedures of international cooperation. As stated by ambassador Lazar Moisov, the chairman of this session of the UN General Assembly, the system of the current structures of international relations cannot, however, lead to "a stable world peace and progress along the road of resolving the major problems of our day. The current structure of international relations must be replaced by a new one, based on the equal cooperation of all nations and peoples of the world, on independence and sovereignty, on the complete renunciation of the use of force, and on the peaceful settlement of common disputes, on the basis of generally acceptable principles of coexistence." Undoubtedly, in the effort to further and establish these new structures, an essential role is involved in the improvement and democratization of international organizations and bodies -- major components of the world mechanism, system, and subsystems.

#### Significant Coordinates, Major Needs

Pointing out the active stand of our party and state in completing the democratization of the international organizations, the Romanian Communist Party's program for building a multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advancing toward communism emphasizes that our party "will consistently work for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations Organization and of the other international bodies, for their upgrading and democratization, for the involvement of all states in the activities of these bodies and of their leading organs, for the implementation of the principle of consensus in the adoption of all decisions." In Romania's view, the complex process of democratization of the entire system, of all international organizations involves: 1. Not the proliferation of the structures and mechanisms -- a trend which has been increasingly criticized lately -- but the improvement of functionality; 2. The reconsideration of the decision-making system, to the effect of eliminating the monopoly of some states, as a result of the maintenance of their privileged position in adopting measures; 3. The direct correlation of the statutes of these organizations with the concrete needs of present-day development.

Analyzing the current evolutions of international organizations -- on the basis of the ad-hoc committee on the restructuring of the

economic and social sectors of the United Nations system -- the General Assembly decided to act for the implementation of the "process of rationalization and the reforms of this system," for the purpose of adaptation to the current needs (A/31/335). This, because as was pointed out during the discussions, "the quantitative increases certainly resulted in greater expenses on the part of member states, but only with probable results and even less" (A/13/34; A/31/34/Add. 1 and Add. 2).

A reappraisal of the entire decision-making system must take into consideration the extension of the use of democratic methods and practices such as: a. Representatives of all states taking turns in chairing the proceedings, with the procedures which establish sole chairmanship being eliminated; b. Consensus in the adoption of all the decisions of the United Nations and of the other international bodies.

The concentration of the coordinations of these organizations' activities in the hands of a small circle and the adoption of solutions by means of voting has made it possible for a few states -- on the basis of precedents provided by the Security Council -- to influence decision-making and to include in their contents orientations which do not take into consideration -- with required concern and strictness -- the legitimate demands of all peoples. The consensus in adopting decisions and resolutions meets the requirements of effective democratization in the life and activity of international organizations, with ramifications in the qualitative area involved.

The closer connection between the tangible needs of world progress is forcefully reflected in the tackling of world economic and social problems, because these problems equally concern all countries and peoples -- developed and developing -- in their efforts to ensure stability and the harmonious and well-balanced development of the overall world economy. But in order to fulfill their duties in these areas, the international organizations -- in the first place those with economic and social duties -- must upgrade their activities and reconsider their systems of operation, so that they may effectively meet the requirement of the involvement of all states not only in the implementation of the decisions but also in their direct formulation for the purpose of being adequately instrumental in: a. The coordination of the complex programs aimed at eliminating the existing lags; b. The relative approximation of the economic and social development levels of all countries; c. The wise utilization -- for a rapid progress -- of the national resources of raw material and of manpower; d. The broadening of international cooperation, on the basis of equity, mutual benefit, and multi-lateral support. In the spirit of the requirements of the new world economic order, this cooperation must help developing countries to build up their own industry, to make best use of their natural

resources, and to be active and fully equal participants in the international division of labor and in the world exchange of assets and values. It is indisputable that the achievement of these goals involves the upgrading of the systems of operation of the economic and social leverages of the UN and of all international economic organizations.

In Romania's concept, the upgrading of the activity of the Economic and Social Council and of all the system of economic organizations which operate under its sponsorship must ensure: 1. The coordination of the procedure according to which the bodies which make up the UN system materialize the objectives in the economic programs on the establishment of the new economic order; 2. Support for the more rapid development of developing countries; 3. The convening of periodical ministerial sessions for the examination of the international economic situation and especially of the trade, monetary, and financial problems of development; 4. The working out of special programs under the sponsorship of the UN and of other international bodies which should focus the efforts of states on achieving goals of vital importance to the progress of human civilization in such essential areas as raw materials, energy, food, resources of seas and oceans, and the access of all states to the gains of modern science and technology. Moreover, upgrading must result in the establishment of a new interinstitutional system focusing on international economic development and cooperation, on the basis of the examination of the economic and social situation in the world and the reporting -- to the high-level meetings of the Economic and Social Council -- of all the problems which require international decisions and measures.

#### Appropriate Methods, Improved Functionality

The proposals for the upgrading of the activity of international organizations are aimed at: a. Avoiding the growing bureaucratization of these organizations; b. Strengthening the capacity of economic analysis and of the function involving guidance of the bodies with economic and social duties; c. Rationalizing the work methods used; d. Ensuring an appropriate representation of all states in these organizations, on the basis of consistently democratic principles; e. Reducing the staff and expenses; f. Continuously improving all the activity and more wisely distributing and utilizing the funds; g. Taking firm measures to combat red tape phenomena; h. Sensibly sizing the apparatus and avoiding the unjustified increase in the structures involved. Highlighting the significance of the concentration of the activity of the UN and of the other international organizations on eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new world economic order Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "Efforts must further be made in the United Nations to formulate principles and establish procedures of practical action, either by designating one of the existing bodies of the organization or -- in view of the importance of this matter --

by setting up a special body which, in a specified period of time, should submit a program in this area."

At the latest sessions of the UN General Assembly the need was evident for the democratization of decision-making in the international financial and economic bodies, thus permitting a greater involvement of developing countries in the discussion and handling of the matters regarding the interests of all. In Romania's view, "the UN Organization for Industrial Development should gradually proceed to the widening of the area of industrial sectors included in the process of consultations and to the establishment of methodical and organized cooperation with the UN Regional Economic Commissions." (Doc. A/C.2/31/SR.32). These important problems figure on the agenda of the Third Conference of the UN Organization for Industrial Development to be held in 1979.

Assessing the positive results at the Fourth Session of the UN Conference on Trade and Development, our country emphasizes that "the Joint Fund must be based on a democratic management and administration which should take into account the interests of all parties and of all countries and must avoid speculations, becoming a factor of stability and safety, a generator of durable economic relations." (Doc. A/C.2/31/SR.53). In regard to the greater efficiency of the UN Program for the Environment, Romania feels that the complex activity which it involves should be based on a "concrete exchange of information among countries," on an exchange of ideas and experience, so that democratically all countries may have the opportunity "to acquaint themselves with the concrete procedures and processes for the protection of the environment." (Doc. A/C.2/31/SR. 24). Regarding the UN Program for Development, our country assesses that it would be useful to act for the outline of a detailed plan of action on cooperation among developing countries which should be discussed, supplemented, and approved by the UN Conference on Technical Cooperation of Developing Countries, whose implementation must involve the concerted efforts of all states. (Doc. A/C.2/31/SR. 37).

Moreover, some improvements must be made in the activity of the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and other international economic and social organizations. In Romania's concept, in tackling the planning and forecasting of development, with the social ramifications involved, matters such as the wise utilization of human resources, the equitable distribution of incomes, health, and structural reforms must involve equal handling with preponderantly economic matters (Doc. A/C/31/SR.54), with emphasis on the interplay of economic and social problems and in general, of all the facets of international life.

The improvement of the methods of work, in the context of the democratization of the activity of all international organizations must ensure, in Romania's view: the elimination of duplication of work and the fulfillment -- in a more efficient and thorough manner and with lower costs -- of the mandate of each body.

#### Concrete Discussions, Efficient Approaches

A profound analysis of the debates within the framework or under the sponsorship of international organizations points out that some of them and especially those in the economic area and those involving disarmament matters -- despite the efforts of some participant countries -- did not yield positive results. In light of the requirements for the democratization of the debates and of the international dialogue, the maintenance of closed systems of negotiations on major problems of mankind such as military disengagement and disarmament is inconceivable today. As underlined in the Romanian Government's Reply, forwarded to the UN secretary general, in connection with the preparation of the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, the structures which will be created "must offer all the states concerned the opportunity of participating, on an equal footing, in the talks on disarmament."

Recently, there has been a growing concern of heads of states and governments, of world public opinion with ensuring a greater effectiveness of the debates held under the sponsorship of international organizations. It was found that in light of the material effort made, the time elapsed, and the durability of the solutions achieved, many meetings organized did not meet the goals of the nations. Many political leaders and scientific and cultural personalities have formulated critical observations in regard to the shortcomings of the meetings and discussions held. Energy, raw materials, development, financial arrangements -- all these are major facets of the restructuring of international relations on a new, more democratic, just, and equitable basis. But if these problems do not receive the answers which mankind expects and if essential approaches are avoided, the discussions organized are devoid of the substance which they ought to have.

What should be done in order that the debates organized may have the results expected and the efficiency required?

In Romania's view, the overall examination of the processes in the world today and of the trends for change and transformation in recent years increasingly outlines the need for analytical and responsible talks with the participation of all states, in the effort to seek approaches which meet the demands of all peoples. Hence, the efficiency of the talks held under the sponsorship of international organizations could increase in the context of the consistently democratic organization of the meetings proper, both at the

convening and during the proceedings on the contents of the matters discussed. Democratic procedures, furthered at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, such as taking turns in chairing the sessions, consensus in the endorsement of all approaches, discussion outside political-military blocs, and so on, have a special significance for the achievement of the goals pursued, for the guaranteeing of effective involvement -- on an equal footing -- of all states, whether they are big, mid-size, or small, regardless of their social system and affiliation with different coalitions.

The Belgrade meeting is an episode of great significance in the political dialogue of the world today. Nicolae Ceausescu, in his address to the people's rally in Iasi Municipality, stated: "We are most firmly involved in the achievement of security and cooperation in Europe, for the materialization of the documents signed in Helsinki. Moreover, we are preparing to attend the Belgrade meeting with the resolve to do our utmost to further economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation among European states, but especially for the transition to military disengagement on our continent, without which real security and peace in Europe and in the entire world cannot be conceived." Hence, the European political dialogue, with the involvement of 35 states, has precise goals with profound significance for the strengthening of peace and security and the development of cooperation on our old continent.

For the purpose of democratizing the international system it is necessary to more accurately establish from the first moment the goals and avenues for achievement. Of outstanding importance is the correct estimation of the interests of all the states involved and of their stands on the problems under discussion so that -- in light of the radiant aims of progress and development of the world today -- approaches may be adopted which take into consideration these stands and interests. In other words, they must synthesize and exemplify the trends and orientations of all nations of the world or -- if the meeting has a regional or more local character -- the trends of all the participants in the international debate, in the dialogue involved.

Fully involved in international life, Romania is an active factor of the democratization of the activity of international organizations and bodies. Our country forwards many proposals and initiatives which have favorable effects on the debates and the efforts focused on the furtherance of the new world economic and political order. Romania campaigns for the abolition of inequality, dominance, and oppression, of the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policy, and for the advancement of equity and justice in international relations, for the harmonious development of all nations, for the progress of all mankind. Along this course, the activity conducted within the framework of international organizations will

meet the requirements of the democratization of international life and international relations, helping to further fruitful cooperation among nations, in the building up of a better and more just world. These are not only generally righteous goals but also components of a concrete program to whose implementation Romania is making an outstanding contribution which has been acknowledged and praised by the other nations.

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ROMANIA

SHORTCOMINGS OF PARTY ACTIVISTS DISCUSSED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian No 9 Sep 77 pp 3-10

/Unattributed article/

/Text/ Conscious of the high responsibilities it has assumed, our party leadership continually consults with those who work and, through a multitude of forms and methods, it requests and utilizes the creative ability of the masses and relies on their initiative in all actions. Such democratic forms as, for example, placing the major problems of national interest in public discussion before their final solution, regular working meetings of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, with working people in enterprises, jobsites, agricultural units and the discussions held and measures taken at these times, national congresses by various areas which have taken on an institutional framework, meetings by branches of the economy, the exchange of opinions in connection with the future of science, art and culture and with systematization of urban centers and rural settlements have become ordinary procedures in our social-political life. They represent the most efficient ways for direct knowledge of the citizens' concerns and the specific way in which the party's policy comes alive and for increasing the contribution of those who work to leading the job of building socialism.

As has been demonstrated by our party's experience, consulting the working people and working out the easiest ways to implement the policy line together with them--in a word, permanent dialog with the masses--are the basic methods which guarantee adopting appropriate solutions, stimulate the broad participation of the citizens in fulfilling the plans conceived jointly and contribute considerably to the development of socialist democracy. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has requested that the party aktiv "give even greater attention than until now to strengthening the ties with the masses of working people, to permanent consultations with them not only on the large problems of domestic and foreign poli-

cy but also on the problems connected with the continued prosperity of the counties, cities, villages, enterprises and cooperatives. The solutions you adopt and the measures you establish with a view to implementing the general directives should be the result of the thinking of the broad masses," the party's secretary general said. "On this basis the unity of efforts of everyone to implement the tasks facing us will be ensured."

Sustained contact with the people at the most varied levels enriches the content of party work and broadens the area of concerns and its sphere in which it is demonstrated. It is a known truth that the direct day-to-day ties with the ones who create material and spiritual values, maintaining a system of relations with all categories of the population, frequent participation of party and state activists in daily mass actions, party and trade union meetings, sessions of peoples councils and citizens meetings facilitate adoption of those measures which converge with the demands of life.

Convinced from their own practice that realistic leadership, in full agreement with the processes in the economic units and with the masses' needs, can be achieved only by anchoring of the party organs and organizations and the aktiv in daily realities and by ensuring an organic welding between them and social-economic life, more and more party committees have taken measures so that their members and aktiv cadres are regularly among the communists and masses. For example, a system was introduced at the Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej Municipal Party Committee where members of the party organ, comrades from the aktiv and workers of the party apparatus are present at all general meetings of the base organizations, meetings of political education circles and trade union meetings. Of course, it is not a matter of an inward, formal presence but an active, long-range presence with deep reverberations in the sense that the secretariat of the municipal party committee efficiently examines the conclusions drawn and problems raised and intervenes as many times as they determine tendencies to delay solving them.

We have dwelled more on this example because there is not appropriate concern in some places with ensuring the presence of cadres precisely when the collectives meet in order to come out in connection with the progress of production or social life and to decide on the way in which future activity should develop.

There are situations which prove that certain leadership cadres have a formal idea of their participation in various activities from the moment they do not even know the problems confronting the collective in the particular unit. For example, one could not say that certain county and city committees do not organize

discussions and meetings with party members and other working people and that their activists do not take part in various meetings and sessions. Some party organs have even introduced a system for knowing the problems of the discussions in the general meetings of the organizations. Of what use are all these, however, if it is precisely in those organizations that the committees and their bureaus have not succeeded in knowing on time that certain leadership cadres have committed abuses, have violated the law and have taken measures which have wronged certain workers and that the provisions of certain important laws adopted by our legislative forum were not explained clearly enough! It is clear that only bureaucratism and formalism and the lack of concern with continually being abreast of the people's real concerns have deprived the particular party organs of the opportunity of knowing certain negative phenomena and intervening energetically to erase them.

Thus, it results that traveling in the field and the presence of cadres and the aktiv in the units and among the people are the very heart of party work and an intrinsic part of it, without which the activity of cadres and party apparatus loses its reason and changes its nature, becoming transformed into something inert, bureaucratic, without soul, without life. Addressing our party aktiv and requesting that they always be present where life is going on and where the fate of all decisions is decided, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu drew attention to the fact that "the problems should not be solved in the offices but below, on the spot, in close tie with the responsible factors and with the masses of working people who ensure that the tasks are implemented."

This directive is of exceptional principled and practical value since it involves effectively changing the center of gravity of political and organizational work to the productive units and to the masses and it means conceiving of and organizing the leadership and guidance so that the main decisions and solutions are made together with those concerned--a method promoted and practiced with such brilliance, consistency and high effectiveness by the secretary general of our party.

The problem being posed now is that this method be included as usual practice in the system of leadership of all party organs and organizations, state and economic organs and of ties with the masses because it provides an extraordinary incentive for the spirit of initiative and creativity of those who work, strengthens their feeling of responsibility for the good progress of public works, develops their civic conscience, requiring their full contribution to speeding up the building of socialism.

In this context the party organs are obtaining remarkable results; they are making on-the-spot analyses and establishing the solutions required together with the political and economic leadership

cadres in the units and with the producers of material goods. On-the-spot analysis shows its effectiveness when the party organ ensures solid preparation of it and, particularly, when all political and organizational measures are taken to ensure the finality of all the conclusions issued. In this regard we welcome the procedure of those party committees which entrust a group of activists with the task of seeking the way in which the measures established are applied and giving the necessary aid for complete fulfillment of them. Likewise, it is also a valuable practice to return after a time to examine the effect of fulfillment of the decisions adopted when an on-the-spot analysis was made.

The initiative of certain bureaus of county, municipal and city committees is currently gaining broader ground; this is where their members meet periodically with workers from enterprises and institutes. The collectives are informed about the meeting in time, with the people being urged to raise any problem they feel is useful to be discussed. The leadership cadres take the act of requests formulated, together examine the way in which they can be satisfied and speak to the participants about the concerns of the party committee. Monthly the bureau members are informed jointly about the main problems raised, about the conclusions resulting from these discussions and they jointly establish the measures required for the lacks determined to be eliminated rapidly.

It is not rare to have cases where negligence and a lack of concern from the unit leadership and party organizations for solving certain vital problems of the people come out at these times. Of course, it is good that action is taken primarily in order to improve things and so that the correct demands of the people can be satisfied. However, this would mean remaining at half-measures if in cases of this type they did not go further and analyze the working style of the leadership cadres, how they have understood to be concerned with social problems, how they know the workers' aspirations and needs and the state of collective spirit and what they do in order to establish lasting and close ties with those who work in the unit they lead. Because it must be clear: The person who does not know how to reach the thoughts and soul of each working man, the person who is not able to understand his personal problems, also, and do everything legal to find a solution for them is not a good leader or good activist! And in this regard very much depends on the perseverance and initiative of local factors. Life has proven many times that, no matter how difficult certain problems are, they can be solved if the local organs show interest, responsibility and perseverance. Themselves giving an example of receptivity to the masses' proposals and complaints, the party organs and activists are called on to militate to educate all cadres in the economy and state apparatus in this spirit. This means that the party activists should be among the collectives regularly, not accidentally or irregularly, but on the

basis of strictly worked out, coordinated and followed programs. The idea is to ensure such an organization for travels in the field so that each party and state activist is able to have a solid knowledge in all regards of the collective of the unit in which he takes action, from whose part he can enjoy the prestige and authority gained especially through work and the efforts made to solve the problems raised by the people. However, this means that going out in the field should not be something occasional but rather the very essence of the activist's work because, we must speak openly, even today there still are activists, even with responsible work, who make special events and formal visits out of their travels in the field. Such procedures have nothing in common with the party and communist style of leadership and should be ended. Regardless of his job, each activist is at the service of the masses and the people, with his work among the people and solution of the problems confronting them being the primary task for fulfillment of which he must do everything.

Unfortunately in some places anachronistic methods are still practiced of solving problems from the office, by papers and telephone. Our party is firmly combatting faith in the omnipotence of papers and meetings which stiffen and bureaucratize work, hinder the responsible factors from being present among the masses to control and concretely aid in solving economic and social tasks.

Examples can be given of party organs which have discussed eliminating certain lags in fulfilling the plan in industry, agriculture, construction and so forth, correcting the activity in the zootechnical sector, improving the economic situation of some more poorly developed agricultural production cooperatives three or four times in a short period; on these occasions plans of measures were worked out and decisions adopted, but the lags were not recovered. There are facts which speak for themselves: Meetings and plans of measures have no value if they are not accompanied by specific actions carried out insistently so that the problems are solved effectively. Repeated discussion of the same things without a concern existing to find efficient solutions leads to useless consumption of time and perpetuation of the lacks.

The criterion for evaluating the on-the-spot travels consists not only of the number of hours and days spent in the field or the units checked but primarily the specific results obtained as a result of the aid given. The party leadership has decided that at least two-thirds of the activists' working time should be devoted to work in the party organizations in the industrial and agricultural enterprises, schools and institutes, among the workers, peasants, engineers, technicians and so forth. It is a directive which must be applied everywhere with no exception.

Clearly, each communist, especially the one invested with responsible tasks, is required to have a developed critical spirit, to promptly understand the lacks, showing intolerance for any shortcoming. However, the activist is a militant and a political fighter, a title which requires not only that he determine an inadequate state of affairs but that he take practical action to eliminate the defects, to introduce the necessary order everywhere it is lacking, being organically integrated in the particular collective and taking action from within himself to steadfastly implement all the party's decisions.

As is also natural, the first purpose of a party activist's travels in the field is the party organization, its bureau, the mass of communists and working people who are not party members. Precisely for that reason it is necessary to combat powerfully and eliminate the predilection of certain leadership cadres for making connections only with the directors of enterprises and schools, with presidents of the agricultural production cooperatives and other technical-administrative leadership cadres, from whom he gathers data for information and reports, after which he returns to headquarters.

Of course, contact with the leadership of economic social, cultural and other units is necessary. But, as the representative of a party organ, each activist has the high mission of being concerned with guidance and control of the party organizations. Thus, his primary concern should be political and organizational work, public and social activities, concern with making contact with the party secretary and the bureau and participating in actions of the party organization, talking with communists and other working people in order to learn specifically and in person the state of affairs in the organization, the enterprise, the agricultural cooperative and so forth. Thus he also will be able to know the quality of work put forth by the unit's leader, his professional, political and moral tasks and those of the other technical-administrative cadres.

The basic goal of the act of leadership and guidance is the aid given to the base organizations in mobilizing the masses for steady implementation of party policy. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has drawn attention more than once to the fact that specific fulfillment of the role of party leader is conditioned to the highest degree by the way each base organization takes action at its place of work, by the behavior and attitude of each party member, by the example he furnishes for the working people around him. The facts show that this basic truth is being forgotten by some activists. The proof is those activists who stop only at the village committees, at the party committees by enterprises, institutes, agricultural production cooperatives, from where they then make the return trip. I would not want it understood that these

party organs should be ignored or that they have no need to be helped. On the contrary, all should enjoy the attention of county, municipal and city committees. However, the lack of interest proven by certain members of party organs and workers of the apparatus in the base organizations, the weak ties which they have with the collectives of working people in sections and workshops are to be criticized. Actually, stopping their control halfway, they cancel out nearly all the efforts undertaken. Because, as is too well known, the fate of most decisions is decided at the level of the base organization. And the presence of the party activist is absolutely necessary in the base organizations in order to control how the measures established are being finalized and to give his able aid as many times as the activity does not follow the desired path.

An excellent source for knowing the concerns of the party members and masses and for better regulating the entire leadership activity is the regular participation in the general meetings of the base organizations, meetings of working people in the economic units, general meetings of the agricultural production cooperatives and citizens meetings in villages and neighborhoods. More than once, precisely as a result of the presence of activists in these meetings, local party organs were able to gain possession of rich information, which considerably facilitated the better organization of all their activity, as, for example, meetings of working people held during July and August 1977. In the places where the presence of a broad aktiv was ensured, immediate intervention could be made to solve certain problems on the steady supply with raw materials and materials, finalization of economic contracts, ensuring and training of the necessary labor force, hastening the completion of dormitories for single persons, some school buildings and so forth. On the contrary, the poor participation of cadres in some of these meetings, particularly of the representatives of some ministries and central institutes, has made the solution of some problems raised by the people drag on unjustifiably.

Along this line of idea we should say that the lack of interest of some leaders of ministries and party committees in the presence of workers of the ministry apparatus at meetings of enterprises which took place recently is not understandable. Don't the party committees from the ministries of machine construction industry and forestry and construction materials economy think that their role as political leader of the particular collectives requires that they closely follow how the apparatus carries out its obligations? Are they that indifferent if the apparatus workers wear out their elbows in the offices, completing all kinds of more or less useful situations or are next to those who produce the material values, helping them honor their plan tasks? There is

no doubt that careful concern from them would have avoided the situation created this summer, when some workers from the particular ministries appointed to go to the meetings of the radiator and cable enterprise and the wood processing combine in Brasov, the mechanical enterprise in Toplet in Caras-Severin County and the bearings enterprise in Alexandria found other things to do.

A path verified by strengthening of the ties of the party organs and organizations with the population is the untiring concern with satisfying its needs in time, decisively combatting any bureaucratic tendencies, ignoring the citizens' proposals and letters and any demonstrations which could affect their democratic rights.

Stimulating the party aktiv to maintain close relations with those who work, the party stresses the need that they live in the midst of those who are creating material and spiritual values, know the state of the people's spirit, their real aspirations, needs and thoughts in all regards and know how to establish them correctly in any matter and at any time, know how to win their faith through a comradely attitude and, in particular, through sustained efforts so that their justified complaints can be satisfied. Of course, it is not a question of activists committing themselves to empty promises without taking the possibilities into account and the stage reached by Romania's general development. What we have in mind is the obligation of each leadership cadre and each party member to demonstrate a careful attitude full of understanding for people and their needs and aspirations and to undertake an open dialog with them regarding what concerns them without distorting the more difficult problems. It is important that any question, any proposal, any request from the citizens receive prompt answers. But if exaggerated claims are issued somewhere, it must be explained to the people why it is not possible to comply with one proposal or another.

Sympathy with the citizens' demands influences decisively the ties of the party and state organs with the masses. Each party and state activist has his own contribution here. There are innumerable situations which prove that it is precisely concerning the population's demands which has launched new types of public activity, bringing to the surface hidden reserves of the masses' creative ability. Serious damages are caused by an arrogant attitude, by disregard for the working man, the attempts of some workers entrusted with leadership tasks to resort exclusively to the method of orders and dispositions instead of patiently explaining to the people why one measure or another was necessary.

One still can meet leadership cadres, more in the economic units, who assume with foregone power rights which do not belong to them, resort to abusive measures, address those who collaborate with

them and the people under them insultingly. More than once the party leadership has stressed the idea that the state or economic activist to whom the people have entrusted a responsible task should place themselves totally at the service of the masses and not the other way around. Life shows that there still are cadres who have not understood the meaning of this directive of special principled value. For example, there are the president of the agricultural cooperative in Albulesti, Mehedinti County--Petre Aldea--and the mayor of Scoarta Village in Gorj County--Constantin Sguroiu--thought by the citizens to be working conscientiously in order to carry out the tasks resulting from the mandate entrusted them customarily by the particular villages. However, dissatisfaction from some of the residents in these villages stems from the style of work used, from their attitude, from the way they know how to address the people. It is not permissible for anyone, especially for leadership cadres, to resort to insults and utter threats, as the agricultural production cooperative president of Albulestidid, reaching the point where he told a member of the review commission that he would kick him out of this organ, when we all know who has the right to take such a measure when it is justified. Such attitudes must be combatted firmly because they harm the ties with the masses, alienate the people instead of bringing them closer, create tension and maintain a state of spirit which is not favorable to creative work. It is regrettable that phenomena of this type, as well as others, do not always receive the proper rebuff or even are viewed with some understanding by the county forums, seeking explanations and motivations from them, as unfortunately happened in the cases mentioned above.

Careful examination and effective solution of proposals, requests and citizens' letters are especially important for consolidating and extending the ties with the masses. In order to be able to orient the activity referring to citizens' letters with complete authority, it is necessary for the party organs to carry out exemplary work in this area themselves. Of course, not all complaints and claims are justified; many require a more thorough research and others cannot be resolved from one day to another due to a string of objective reasons, but the person always should be listened to respectfully and attentively and answered clearly, precisely, with reasons. Party spirit requires that the party organs and organizations and all activists justify the faith with which the people address them.

In connection with audiences and the citizens' access to cadres from party organs and apparatus and state and economic cadres, another statement is needed. Of course it is difficult, even impossible, for an activist to stay in the office all the time to receive citizens and discuss with them. For that reason the measure regulating the reception in audiences is reasonable. But

it should not be understood from here that the discussions and meetings with the people can be reduced to those several hours per week established for audiences. A party committee secretary, a mayor, a leadership cadre in an enterprise, a trade union president should consider the tie with the masses one of his primary concerns and obligations. This also involves care with ensuring conditions so that the largest possible number of people, actually all who want to, have an open door. It is important that no leader should consider contact and meetings with the people as a burden, something which ostensibly would make fulfillment of his job duties more difficult. On the contrary regular ties with the working people--basically, with those with whom he carries out day-to-day tasks--are an organic necessity without which we cannot conceive of the appropriate organization of labor, normal procedure of the entire production flow, identification of the large reserves which actually reside in all units, total utilization of the giant creative and intelligence potential of the masses.

The most proposals are advanced within the framework of our institutionalized forms--party meetings, general meetings of working people, meetings of cadres with various categories of citizens and so forth. The concern of those party organs and organizations which seek that all proposals enjoy proper attention and be examined sensibly is praiseworthy, with the ones that prove useful to be solved. For example, at the Sibiu County Party Committee there is a strict record of the proposals made by communists at recent meetings for reports and elections. Periodically the bureaus and committees examine how these are being implemented, while those who wrote them are brought up to date on the fate of the proposals made. It really is a way which not only raises the party's labor efficiency but also keeps an atmosphere of permanent interest among the communists for continual improvement in party life.

An emanation of the masses, the Romanian Communist Party uses an arsenal of methods which have at their base mutual faith between the party and people. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu noted, "We conceive of the leading role of the party not as something abstract and something over the classes or society, but integrating the party in the entire life of the people. Only in this way can we fulfill the role as leader of all society and can we ensure the creation of socialism and communism in our country."

Blending with the life of the people of which it is an organic part, the party finds among the masses inexhaustible sources of inspiration, teaching and experience; it is continually regenerated under the stimulus of the powerful bundles of energy and light continually directed toward it from our socialist nation.

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ROMANIA

NEW YEAR OF POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION BEGINS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian No 9 Sep 77 pp 11-15

/Unattributed article/

/Text/ We are on the eve of the opening of the second year of political-ideological education organized in accordance with the provisions of the Program of measures adopted by the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum of November 1976.

In the school year which ended in June 1977, around 8.5 million working people, youth and pupils studied in an organized form the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state.

Nearly 3 million students have studied in the three areas of party political-ideological education as well as the Political and Leadership University. The leadership of the educational courses was entrusted to propagandists selected from the best prepared party and state activists, social science and economic cadres and highly qualified workers.

Nearly 2.4 million young people studied at the courses organized by the Union of Communist Youth /UTC/ in a differentiated way.

Working people from enterprises and institutes from neighborhoods and villages not included in party and UTC education participated in the mass political-ideological education organized by the party organs with the aid of the trade unions and local councils of the Front of Socialist Unity. The party organs ensured propagandists with experience in this work for UTC and mass ideological education.

The propagandists and students have benefited from direct aid from the cabinets for ideological and political-educational activity.

In accordance with their duties from the Program of measures

adopted by the November 1976 Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, training of the propagandists took place in the cabinets, a number of political-educational activities were initiated, thematic plans and lectures were worked out as well as bibliographies, documentary materials on the realities and tasks of the county and its various locations. In category II cities, in villages, enterprises, institutes, in schools and faculties more than 17,000 political-ideological documentation points have contributed to the good training of the students, placing at their disposal bibliographic material, party and state documents, collections of magazines and newspapers, manuals and collections of lectures and hosting consultations. In some large economic units, such as the Petrochemical Combine and Automobile Enterprise in Pitesti, political-ideological documentation points were also set up at the level of production sections, coming much more to meet the educational demands existing in the places of work. Exchanges of experience took place for generalization of positive experience of some city and village party committees along the line of supply and operation of the political-ideological documentation points.

From the discussions held with propagandists and students and some members of local party organs and from the many letters which have reached the editors we see that real help was given for a well-based and systematic training through publication both in MUNCA DE PARTID as well as other central magazines and newspapers at the Political Publishing House, presentation of subject plans on radio and television broadcasts, consultations, theoretical and political articles, answers to questions, outlines, diagrams. As can be determined even in this issue, our editors are continuing to place a number of materials at the disposal of those studying "The Basic Problems of Party and State Activity" in this school year, too.

Through application of the provisions of the Program of measures adopted at the November 1976 Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum which stressed the role and higher responsibilities belonging to the party organs and organizations in leading the education process, political-ideological education has increased its power to influence and mobilize the masses to fulfill social-economic goals, its contribution in forming the political thought and socialist conscience of working people and in understanding party policy has risen. These are due to the fact that the party organs and organizations have acted much more firmly to ensure within the discussions a close tie between the party and state general policy and the specific tasks belonging to the various social-economic units, working people and students in various forms of education; they have militated in a more sustained way for clarification of the problems raised in discussions,

for use of a broad range of methods and means in the leadership and development of them, for raising the role of individual study within the general training process and for stimulating active participation of the largest possible number of students in discussing the subjects programed. In accordance with such concerns, monthly discussions and recapitulative conversations in many political-ideological educational circles, particularly in Prahova, Cluj, Buzau, Dimbovita, Timis, Mehedinti, Caras-Severin, Suceava, Braila, Iasi, Covasna, Ilfov Satu Mare Counties and Bucharest Municipality and many others have been occasions for analysis of certain problems of stringent political, social-economic, ethical and philosophical immediacy which concern our society, party organizations and working people; the increase in the party's leading role, ways to deepen socialist democracy and have the masses participate more actively in leadership, establishment of a spirit of order and discipline in all activity, the taking root of the principles of socialist ethics and equity in the work and life of communists and all people, exemplary fulfillment of the plan tasks, increase in economic efficiency and labor productivity, full utilization of production capacities and utilization of all reserves and so forth.

Last year the development of political-ideological education on the basis of new, improved principles and structures occasioned the accumulation of rich experience in this direction. The party organs and organizations, taking into account the increased demands placed before our ideological front by the party leadership and by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, and drawing the appropriate lessons from the results obtained, are concerned with increasing efficiency of this activity.

During the summer, parallel with organizing informative work for the people through speeches, symposiums, brochures, looseleaf notebooks, other printed matter, the county party organs and other party organs and organizations initiated a number of actions intended to favor in the second year of study the continued fulfillment of the provisions for improvement of education, as included in the Program of measures for application of the decisions of the 11th party congress and Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture.

Thus, proceeding from the specific analysis of the structure of the courses by forms of instruction and from the natural needs for broadening the political, philosophic and cultural horizon of certain increasingly broader categories of working people, in many counties--among which are Caras-Severin, Hunedoara, Suceava, Neamt, Iasi, Harghita and Salaj--conditions are being created to increase the number of circles of dialectical and historical materialism and those of scientific socialism.

At the same time, the party organs and organizations are utilizing the period preceding the opening of the new school year for increasing the supply of the cabinets and political-ideological documentation points with new materials, among the most recent party documents, works of social-political literature, sketches including various outlines, diagrams or with sets of slides and films, with recording materials and playback of sound and so forth.

Parallel with the action to reorganize the political-ideological documentation points, the Bacau County Party Committee, for example, is organizing four such model points in the villages of Traian, Buhusi, Nicolae Balcescu and Calugara, two each in the municipalities and one in each city, where exchanges of experience and other activities take place both during the summer as well as on days established for instructing the propagandists.

Special concern has been given and is continuing to be given to improving and completing the body of propagandists for party political-ideological education, UTC and trade union organizations and Front of Socialist Unity with new cadres, with graduates of the Political and Leadership University and other higher forms of political-ideological training who enjoy prestige in their collectives and have proven to have qualities as educators and propagandists of party policy. In this regard the party organs and organizations are giving increased attention to recruiting a large number of cadres into the ranks of propagandists from the leadership of the social-economic units and workers with high qualifications, who are solidly trained politically and ideologically.

A central problem in the new study year is the continued improvement of the leadership of political-ideological education by the party organs and organizations.

Toward this goal, on the basis of a recent decision of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat with regard to training secretaries in propaganda problems of the county party committees and propagandists in political-ideological education for the 1977-1978 study year, an instruction for secretaries of county and Bucharest Municipality party committees, aktiv of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda Section and readers of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee took place recently. As the decision establishes, in the future they all will be instructed quarterly in connection with the problems of party education.

In this period, in accordance with the same decision, instruction is taking place of the propaganda sections, aktiv, of deputy secretaries of the local party organs with propaganda problems,

readers of the county party committees and propagandists from political-ideological education. These instructions are similar to the one organized at the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, with each of the subjects of the speeches being adapted to the specific problems of party and state activity in the particular counties.

The county, municipal and city party organs, with the aid of the county cabinets for ideological and political-educational activity, are carrying out in a differentiated way the instruction of propagandists from cities and villages on the basis of programs approved by the secretariats of the county party committees. At the time of the instruction, special attention is given to a deep study of the content of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches at the 28 March 1977 joint meeting of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, Grand National Assembly, Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development and central party and state aktiv; the Congress of leadership councils of socialist agricultural units and all the peasantry; the solemn joint session of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, Grand National Assembly and central party and state aktiv of 9 May 1977; the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum of June 1977; the Congress of working peoples councils from industry, construction and transport. Likewise, valuable ideas resulting from the speeches of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to popular meetings occasioned by his recent working visits in some of the country's counties are being mastered.

In order to continue deepening the basic theses of dialectical and historical materialism, of the party Program and other documents of the 11th party congress and works of the party's secretary general Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a number of speeches are heard during the instructions, participants are informed on national and territorial social-economic tasks, consultations and discussions take place on theoretical and practical problems in close tie with the type of each course separately, answers are given to questions, the propagandists go on visits in the social-economic units for documentation and scientific and cultural-artistic research and they participate in exchanges of experience and practical applications with a view to improving their methods training.

Utilizing fruitful forms and methods to carry out the training actions, besides the annual and quarterly instruction, the propagandists will be instructed monthly by the party organs and organizations with the help of the county cabinet for ideological and political-educational activity in the enterprises and institutes or by groups of social-economic units as well as by villages. Special emphasis will be placed on studying the most recent party

documents, deepening the content and significance of the new laws which have gone into effect and various aspects resulting from the subjects to be treated in each circle and on advising on the problems which have resulted from individual study and discussions with the students. Thus, the basic form in the political-ideological and methods training of the propagandists is individual study of party documents and social-political literature, combined with dialog, discussion, presentation and clarification of the problems to be treated in party education.

Seeking diversification of the methods for conducting the discussions and the continued rise in the mastery of propagandists' work, the party organs and organizations will mobilize the propagandists to permanent theoretical and methodological training, using publications from the area, methods notebooks or other materials with methodical content edited locally or centrally.

The party organs and organizations will continue to place particular emphasis in the activity of leading and guiding political-ideological education on the problems of the content of this study: As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his speech delivered to the meeting of cadres from the area of social sciences and political education in October 1976, "It is necessary in political-ideological training to proceed not from general theses, mastering them mechanically, but from the study and understanding of the problems and phenomena which continuously appear in the world...Only in this way will we be able to take action with all our power in order to bring our contribution to solving all the problems, no matter how complex they are ." In this regard, the party organs should militate for treating the aspects of the specific tasks belonging to the party organizations and work collectives with much more effectively in the discussions for political-ideological education to become an active way to engage the working people in fulfilling the social-economic goals and pledges assumed in the socialist competition. An important role in this direction belongs to improving the training of the students through individual study, reading through the bibliography indicated and materials placed at their disposal at the political-ideological documentation points. Likewise, it is necessary to bring the subjects and bibliographies up to date, to effectively integrate them into the study of the documents of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee plenums and sessions of the Grand National Assembly, to deepen the content of the speeches of the party secretary general as well as other party documents.

For dynamic and solid assimilation of knowledge by the students, it is important that participative forms be promoted on the broadest possible scale--dialog, study and discussion of cases--and that modern audiovisual aids, looseleaf books and maps intended

to make the political-ideological knowledge to be gained more accessible and more effective. When it is more difficult for the students to understand certain theses and ideas, particularly theoretical ones, or when the propagandists are not able to answer certain questions with enough arguments, it is indicated that the particular party organs and organizations immediately take measures to ensure a competent explanation for them. In some locations in Buzau, Cluj, Harghita and Gorj Counties, when these types of situations appeared, the particular county party committees sent party activists, members of the county or municipal party committee or other cadres well prepared to directly conduct these circles to participate alongside the propagandists in discussing some of the more difficult subjects and in collective and individual consultations and to answer the questions formulated. In some organizations there has been a slowing of the method for developing discussions in the presence of some activists and leadership cadres along the party or state line, who help the propagandist in the effort for a correct explanation of the problems of everyone's understanding and in organizing stimulating and substantial discussions. And from this viewpoint, political-ideological education everywhere should take on a strikingly militant and revolutionary spirit, giving clear answers to all the questions placed by the students, no matter how complex they are.

Proceeding in this way, a profound knowledge of our party and state policy is achieved and of the directions in which each communist should take action to implement the party program and consistent help is given in understanding the main domestic and international political events in all aspects.

It is well known that successful development of the discussions in the courses as well as correct mastery of the knowledge are ensured when party organs and organizations reserve a special place among the goals of their labor for political-ideological education, when they are concerned with instruction of the propagandists, when they directly and systematically check on this activity.

This year it is imperative that all appropriate organizational and political measures be taken in order to avoid the trend demonstrated in certain propagandists to achieve merely a review of the problems in the subject, without dwelling on the most important and difficult ones, and the preference of some of them for expositive forms and for monologs and neglecting discussions which would involve the largest possible number of students. Also, they must persevere along the line of mobilizing the students toward individual study through careful reading and making summaries of the recommended bibliography and using existing materials at the political-ideological documentation points. Thus, the students' contributions will contribute in a real way to the discussion and

clarification of problems, overcoming the situations which appeared last year in some circles when due to the students' poor training the discussions took on the technical-professional nature of production meetings or when the entire seminar actually was reduced to the propagandist's talking.

In order to ensure a solid check on the development of political-ideological education, it is necessary for the members of the party organs to have a close knowledge of the activity of the propagandists and students through direct participation in the discussions. For that reason it would be good if the deputy secretary involved with this area or the propagandist would periodically inform the communists of the progress of political-ideological education in the general party meetings and the measures necessary to increase its efficiency. Likewise, it is indicated that the occasion of periodic instructions of the propagandists be used to present the main conclusions on the activity in political-ideological education in the time which has passed since the last instruction, dwelling on the tasks they will continue to have.

A broad area of problems await solution, thus, in this year of study by the party organs and organizations. The complexity and variety of them expressed by the very goal in whose name action is taken--forming the socialist conscience of working people and conscience of fighters for the triumph of the job of building the multilaterally developed socialist society--require the direct, responsible and passionate presence and participation of all activists in the guidance and development of political-ideological education, and not only those in the propaganda area, and party organs and organizations in their totality, who are called on to ensure permanent leadership for the goal of this very important area of party work.

8071

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YUGOSLAVIA

ABUSE OF TERM "MORAL/POLITICAL SUITABILITY " DETAILED

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Sep 77 p 3

[Article by Djokica Petkovic: "Fitness Involving Several Unknown Valuables"]

[Text] The caucus of the working people of the Vasa Pelagic Elementary School in Leskovac invited applicants to apply "for the following tasks and job duties: 1. one counselor to work in the preschool department, 2. one English teacher for regular instruction up to 456 hours annually." (We will not take up the fact that the text of the advertisement was written in an educational institution, since that is another problem.) In addition to the other conditions, the applicant must possess moral-political fitness. Not only must he possess it, but he must also prove it, since the organization inviting applications requires a "document certifying moral-political fitness."

The Union Elementary School in Banovici is also seeking teachers who are supposed to fulfill the conditions envisaged by the Law on Secondary Education and who "must be morally and politically fit to work in educational institutions." They must provide proof.

Jugodrvokombinat in Belgrade sets the same conditions for a staff specialist for self-management affairs. The financial department of Apatin Opstina sets the same qualifying conditions of moral-political fitness for a surveyor, a staff specialist and a trainee. At Tesla in Pancevo, at Podgorka in Osecina, and at the Franjo Krc firm in Zemun--they are all requiring moral-political fitness. One has only to examine the advertisements published in the daily press. It does not matter whether the job is for a trainee, a supervisor, an educator, a worker in health care or some other activity. Matters are indeed taken to such an extreme that this condition is made a requirement for jobs in which this quality is not indispensable.

### Certification a Blind Alley

The greatest problem is not that a condition like this must be fulfilled, even when it is not essential to a particular job. The trouble is that a good public intention has been abused. We chose to conduct personnel policy carefully, responsibly and conscientiously so as not to appoint to important jobs those who are incompetent, unqualified or prepared to tear down what has been achieved. But we now see that we are exaggerating in this "concern."

Milica Radovanovic of Nis is an economic technician. For almost 2 years she waited to get a job. During that time she wrote a pile of applications and received the same number of rejections. She could understand that she was not the only girl looking for a job, that she was not the only specialist of this kind, that she had to look for a job outside of Nis.... The only thing she did not know was what moral-political fitness amounted to. Nor did she know whom she should ask for a certificate, a document to that effect.

"Five times they told me that I was not hired because the candidate who was hired had better moral and political qualities. My father is a member of the League of Communists. I am not. Not because I do not want to be a member, but primarily because there was little concern about that in my school. Who can and who has the right to make me pass through that kind of filter?"

Milica has never obtained an answer to that question. Fortunately, after a 2-year wait, she has her employment book, which is as important as life itself.

We do not know who will issue the certificate of moral-political fitness to applicants for the jobs we mentioned in the Vasa Pelagic School in Leskovac. What evidence will they give of their moral-political fitness?

"I went to the local community for a certificate. They told me they were not competent in such matters. I decided to enclose my party card along with the other documents. Then they told me that I was trying to obtain privileges for myself in this way. After that I didn't understand anything," says Goran Stankov of Vranje, a teacher.

"My local community gave me a reference," Milan Jovic of Belgrade (Stari Grad Opstina) added. "I worked in a youth organization and that is why I received this recommendation. Otherwise, anyone who tries to obtain this kind of certificate or evidence of moral-political fitness will very soon and frequently find himself in a blind alley. No one issues such things, at least as far as I know."

### Behind the Scenes of Filling a Job Vacancy

What are all the things that the phrase "moral-political qualities" refers to? What sort of evidence is it that an applicant can and must submit

since the time has long passed when bodies existed to write such references? What sort of check and assessment is made as to the degree to which an applicant fulfills that condition? Whose duty is it to prescribe the proper mixture?

And what does this mean when a young person is looking for his first job?

There are questions upon questions. We need to look for the answers.

Tomislav Bogavac, who has a master's degree, feels that there is a full social justification for requiring that educators meet moral-political requirements and that this applies equally to all those working in the field of education. Teachers must all exert a thrust in the same direction and must promote the same moral, political and ideological principles.

"Those approaches which take adverse references as their point of departure in negotiating a social compact concerning professional, teaching, moral and ideological-political criteria for teachers' positions are unacceptable. Their human and professional qualities must be established as the criterion, and the way must be opened up for their future professional, ideological and moral affirmation and their affirmation as teachers."

Judging by the words of Tomislav Bogavac, moral-political fitness cannot be established once and for all. It is a question of people, who are subject to various "whims." A person must constantly prove himself in this area. Which means that there is no justification for requiring young people seeking their first job to fulfill this condition. The evaluation that is made of job applicants cannot be a guarantee of qualities which is valid for all time.

Good, Better ...

There are as many interpretations of this qualification as there are job advertisements. In three organizations of associated labor in Doboij we were told by telephone that "moral-political fitness" meant membership in the League of Communists. In a health care institution in Pancevo it is a sufficient guarantee in this respect that the applicant have no convictions on his record and that no criminal charges be pending against him. The Belgrade Municipal Market Administration requires that there be no criminal charges outstanding against him, no criminal record, no prohibition from performing the job in question, sociopolitical affirmation, and evidence of the applicant's attitude toward self-management. This last requirement quite logically requires that one have been previously employed.

The Belgrade PTT [Postal, Telegraph and Telephone] Enterprise does not require that an applicant be a member of the League of Communists, but it is indispensable that he be sociopolitically active. This applies to almost all applicants for jobs in that organization. There are organizations which do not ask to look at an applicant's party card, but they do require that the applicant "state why he is not a member of the League of Communists"!

Igor Janjic, an economist in Belgrade, is reluctant to speak about this. His reason: "Moral-political fitness is being abused." Nevertheless, he did tell what happened to him in obtaining a job.

"They called me in for an interview. They asked me a great many things. They asked me where my parents worked and what they do. They were interested in how sociopolitically active I was. I was told that another applicant was hired because he was more morally and politically fit. That happened on one occasion. On another occasion I said almost all of that, but in another organization. I added that I had a place to live. One of the members of the commission said: 'That is good!' I was hired. It was stated in the minutes of the proceedings that the commission had chosen me because I had better moral-political qualities."

#### Young People Should Be Trusted

A young person who is already morally and politically fit! No one seems to know what this really means. What does it mean in the case of a person who has grown up during this society's development of self-management, in the case of a young man or woman who has just taken the first step toward full social independence?

Momir Pantovic, who has an excellent knowledge of labor law and is a judge of the Belgrade District Court, took part in drafting the Law on Worker Rights and Duties in Associated Labor of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Even then this problem arose (more than 3 years ago). The question was how to define moral-political fitness for purposes of hiring and firing, since there were quite a few demands for this to be stated in the law.

"In the course of the discussion it was concluded that moral-political fitness could not be required for all jobs, one reason being the international convention which our country has signed forbidding moral-political fitness to be the basis for termination of employment. On the other hand, one cannot legislate what is moral, and therefore the possibility was left open for self-management accords concerning mutual relations in associated labor to establish on the basis of law those special conditions which workers must meet. Reference is to the laws on education, the news media and the courts, where moral-political qualities are required for certain jobs. There have been abuses in practice: moral-political fitness is sought for almost every job, both for those looking for their first job and those who have worked before. A fairly detailed analysis of the situation shows that many competitions to fill job vacancies are conducted illegally. This qualifying condition should be an exception, but the situation in practice is quite the reverse."

"Young people should be trusted, they should be given a chance to prove themselves in a job," says Zoran Rakic, a plant engineer from Novi Sad. "Haven't we had enough of waiting for a job? Now they use this to put another burden on us."

"It is not good that we have made this into a strict rule. Moral-political fitness has been turned into a key which opens all doors and makes everything possible. It is used for purposes of manipulation. Applicants are said to be better when they really are not, but neither I nor anyone else can prove that I am better and more fit. The fact that my father is a member of the League of Communists is no guarantee that I have the same moral and political qualities he has. Young people should not be required to make a verbal commitment on paper, they should not be screened in this way. We grow up committed to the relations of socialist self-management. That is inherent in our development and our makeup. And then we are asked to prove that we are morally and politically fit. Is it our fault that we have not previously worked so as to prove ourselves in a job? Why should we prove that we are fit? Let someone prove that we are not fit. Turn the process around," says Ivan Radovanov of Bela Crkva.

#### What Is a Formality and What Is Essential

In discussions recently held in the League of Trade Unions there have been several condemnations of competitions to fill job vacancies which, as it has been stated, jeopardize the thrust of the justified effort to put personnel policy on firm and sound foundations. This was also accompanied by a description of the bad things which are associated with this requirement for job applicants (usually without justification). There are cases when moral-political fitness is added to the text of the advertisement merely as a formality ("just to make the advertisement sound better and give it an ideological overtone, since no certificates to that effect are sought--for which there would be no justification").

This was followed by the assessment that it is a "new thing" for young people to be hurt worse by this kind of competition to fill a job vacancy. "Young people do not dare to compete where moral-political fitness is sought. It is usually thought that this is a rigged competition, that the specialist being sought has already been found. Many young people are convinced that this condition is put so that the applicant the commission (or some influential figure) wants will be hired. This is a way of avoiding possible criticism of the competition and the selection of a candidate."

This attitude toward young people looking for work does not jibe even with the policy of the League of Communists. Not only because young people are involved, but also because moral-political fitness is being sought for many jobs in which it is not indispensable. Equating this criterion with membership in the League of Communists, it is very often said, leads to the formation of factions and groups or to an effort on the part of young people to become members of the party at all costs (even when they are not yet mature to carry a party card). That is why we must not allow personnel policy in our society to be vulgarized in this way.

Affirmation of the idea of self-management is the highest value and historically the most original value in the policy of the League of Communists. It is therefore logical that the highest moral and political quality is

contained precisely in one's attitude toward self-management. If young people are to pull their own weight in social progress, the necessary trust must be placed in them. And that means they must have the opportunity to demonstrate their attitude toward self-management in a work organization, in job positions, in the environment where they live. That is why it is so unfair for moral-political fitness to be set up for them as a hurdle that is difficult to cross.

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ACTUALITY OF SELF-MANAGEMENT IN YOUTH GROUP DERIDED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1398, 23 Oct 77  
p 13

[Article by Jug Grizelj: "The Rise of One Zlatko"]

[Text] In my time I have received my fill of delegations, said an acquaintance of mine, a well-known legal specialist and public official, and he added: but never one like that one.

Two boys and one girl, none of them older than 13, rang the doorbell. When I saw them, my acquaintance said, I realized they were children from the neighborhood, and I figured: their ball has again landed on the balcony. They said that it was not because of a ball, but something else. I asked them to come in. They sat down in the upholstered armchairs, exchanged glances and cleared their throats. Then the little girl began: Is it true, mister, that you write laws? Now, it might be put that way. Well, we had a good idea when we thought of you, the children said. But look here, I said, I specialize in laws about community and general consumption and the unified market. They looked at one another and rose to their feet: Thanks, anyway. Where are you going? Well, they said, you are not the one. Well, what sort of man did you need? The one who writes laws about elections.

And so, word by word, we got to the point: A few days before, the children said, they had held the annual conference of the youth organization in the school, the first in their time, since they had just been enrolled in the youth organization. The agenda consisted of election of a president.

First of all, mister, you tell us: does a teacher always have to run the meetings of the youth group, and does he always have to be in a hurry? No, I said, he doesn't. Good, next point: and do we have to elect exactly that person president who is nominated by the instructor? No, you don't, indeed not. Well, you see, the children said, that is what we said, and our teacher said that we didn't know the criteria, so therefore we can't know who ought to be our president. That means that she knows the criteria. But how could she know who is our best young person, and why is

it that only Zlatko, according to her, should be the president, and no one else?

Wait, children, I said: did you discuss this in your conference? You bet we did, we started to discuss it, but the teacher constantly hushed us up and said that we were still too small and that we still had to learn about self-management. Afterwards she asked: what do you have against Zlatko? Nothing, we said, Zlatko is fine, he just isn't our friend, he isn't anyone's chum, he always sits at home, and when we see the one you prefer.... We mentioned the names of two or three of our friends, and she said that one of them didn't suit because he always had a bone to pick with the teachers and saying that things weren't fair, while another was unsuitable because he had caused trouble on a field trip. And we said: yes, but why did he cause trouble, because you locked us in and went to take a walk. The teacher said: aside from everything else, you are impertinent, and I will report you. Then we said: this is not a meeting of the classroom, but of the youth organization, and our comrade who caused trouble on the field trip did make a fuss, but twice he has been a shock worker on a youth work project, and while he was doing that, Zlatko was with mommy and daddy on Korcula. Zlatko's health is not good, she said. And we said: if his health is not good, how then can he play tennis, and then she began to shout: you are setting up an opposition to me, and we asked: what is an opposition? Later she calmed down a bit and said that we were jealous of Zlatko because he is well brought up and because he never argues with the teachers, and we said: that's exactly what we're afraid of. And then she said, children, I don't understand you: as if it were important who is the president, and we said: to you it really isn't important; and then she said: don't you understand that Zlatko will now get a complex if you don't elect him. And we said: better for him to get a complex than for us to have a no-good president, and then she got mad and began to shout: I don't have the time to fool around with you here, I have my own house and children, you have been deliberately holding me up here and you want to ruin the meeting of the youth organization.

So, that's the whole story. Zlatko was nevertheless elected in the end, since a majority of the children realized that it wasn't important who is president, realized that they were unable to self-manage, particularly when the teachers had so agreed and when their teacher was anxious to get home.

Fine, Zlatko's case is settled: he began to go up the ranks on the basis of the criteria instead of his personal qualities. He might even go far. The only problem is that if we begin to teach little children that self-management is a formality--how will we unlearn them when they grow up?

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END